Daily Report

East Europe

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call prolonged, some exceptional, and some unprecedented. But did it pass by without consequences? Do its effects exert an influence on the balance of our economy, and how should we cope with the shortages and difficulties it has caused?

It is a fact that agricultural and livestock production was not good this year. As we know, the wheat plan was 97 percent fulfilled but, as a result of the long drought and especially the very great heat, there were large shortfalls in corn, potatoes, vegetables, beets, and other industrial crops, in fruit, and livestock products from concentrated herds, and so forth.

Comrade Ramiz underlined that confronting a situation does not merely mean considering international circumstances. It means confronting the nation's economic situation, its results, shortcomings, and so forth.

The people notice these shortages in the market, so why are they not explained by the people in our organizations? To talk frankly about shortages is no disparagement of successes that have been achieved. On the contrary, the truth gives people strength, makes them aware of the duties that face them in surmounting the shortfalls that have come about, mobilizes them more in labor, and increases their awareness of the need to save and use products as rationally as possible, especially cereals, but livestock fodder as well.

The party and government, Comrade Ramiz said, will alleviate the negative consequences of the drought by increasing imports, especially of fats, sugar, rice, and a few other products, so that the needs of the people can best be met. These imports require several million dollars above the anticipated plan. Of course, our socialist state will find these funds in a way so that the people will not feel worse off, and without changing any prices.

At the same time, it is a task for the workers' class and all working people to raise their political awareness with a good understanding of the situation, and to raise the level of their mobilization in labor, struggling to carry out their duties on the front where they work; identifying reserves that will permit production to be increased, especially in those sectors that weigh heavily in export plans; and creating opportunities to save as much imported materials as possible. In these areas, the work of the party and the mass organizations, and the work of state and economic bodies, should be as concrete and effective as possible, and as far removed as possible from standardized, generalized, and stereotyped formulas and phrases.

When we mention shortcomings, we do so in order to gather the strength to press ahead and repair them. We do this because our expectations have increased; we do it out of optimism, convinced that we have every possibility of pressing ahead on the road of progress.

Korce, Comrade Ramiz continued, is in second place in the republic in its light industry, and in third place in its food industry. The knitwear combine is the largest of its kind in our country. Korce has made itself a reputation for quality, variety, and taste in its clothing and footwear industries.

Plans are generally fulfilled in these branches here in Korce. However, greater efforts must be made in these fields in order to meet the people's needs ever more fully. The first necessary step for this, he stressed, is to exploit the productive capacities we have constructed. There is unused capacity in the knitwear combine, as well as in the shoe and leather enterprise, etc.

Korce has technology, experience in labor, and professional expertise. Now skilled intervention is required in technical production procedures. The funds placed at the disposal of the economy must be used in ways that produce the greatest benefits. Attacks must be made on the links that revolutionize production. It does not make sense for investments to drain away, as happens in some enterprises, over long waiting periods before they are put to use. This happens in some districts of the country, and in Korce as well. A number of machines sit idle in the knitwear combine, waiting for heat-sealing equipment. The absence of some minor kinds of equipment, such as seaming machines and ironing equipment, affects quality in the clothing combine.

The Ninth AWP Congress, Comrade Ramiz said, gave priority to the development of light industry and the food industry. This guideline must be remembered, because, using the excuse of various difficulties in recent years, this branch is not being given the necessary support.

In the planning bodies, there are narrow-minded attitudes toward production branches. For the sake of progress in heavy industry, every shortfall in whatever branch is blamed on the light and food industries more than on any others.

The congress' guideline, he stressed particularly, must be followed at all costs. The support that the light and food industries require is not a burden on the economy, nor upon heavy industry, and still less upon the priority of heavy industry. It is amazing that in planning, some comrades can really believe that the temporary precedence given to this branch, that demands a few handfuls in investment, can threaten the strategic priority of the heavy industries.

We no longer need combines and large complexes for the further development of light industry, because we have them; we need production lines and departments, individual machines and technological improvements. These must be achieved, all the more so because the exports of the light and food industries cover and more than cover the costs of the necessary imports.

The social productivity of labor, Comrade Ramiz said later, is a mirror that gives a total picture of the state of the economy and economic processes. It expresses in itself production rates and efficiency in production. In the full sense of the word, productivity sets the limits of our development.

The productivity of labor is the productivity of society. Therefore, if we wish to overcome the shortages and difficulties that we come across in some sectors of the economy, he pointed out, we must at all costs achieve a leap forward in the productivity of actual work, in saving materials, and in making our investments more fruitful.

This requires all enterprises, in all sectors, in industry and agriculture, to work with particular mobilization to fulfill plans. This is particularly necessary in these last months of the year, which should be considered months of a special labor offensive everywhere. Increasing productivity in labor, quite apart from the question of plan fulfillment, demands a reduction in material costs, and a fuller and more fruitful use of production capacity, technological improvements, and creative initiative.

Labor productivity is good in large projects. Exemplary work is being done at Banje, on the railroads, in ferrochrome mining, and elsewhere. But good work in major industries alone does not maintain the economy. It is daily labor in "small" enterprises and collectives, taken as a whole, that determines the state of the economy. If labor lags behind and is sluggish here, this also detracts from results in large industries.

At present, Comrade Ramiz continued, the export-import situation has a great influence on our opportunities for development. This was discussed at length at the sixth plenum. Plenums and aktivs have also been held in the districts. These meetings supported and enlarged upon the tasks set by the sixth plenum.

The decisions of this plenum must be considered from many angles: It is important to consider not only what is produced for export, but what role imports play; not only what we buy from abroad, but how we use imports; not only what we sell abroad, but our production costs. Now we demand a balance of exports and imports not only on a national scale, but district by district.

The sixth plenum set the guideline that enterprises, for their technological renewal, should rely more on their savings, especially of exportable raw materials.

Korce consumes about 600 million-700 million leks' worth of raw materials, fuel, and electrical energy every year. The overwhelming majority of these raw materials consist of exportable items or imported materials. Therefore, before you apply to the planning offices for foreign currency to obtain equipment you require, he advised, approach the innovators and the able people in the district—talented producers—who are in fact highly skilled and have the highest qualifications in the country, and ask them to secure the funds through saving and innovations.

We have many economic problems, Comrade Ramiz said in conclusion. I have only mentioned a few of them here—those that demand everybody's commitment, and involve a broader view than the interests of an individual enterprise or sector. There is a need to perfect labor in every field and, to achieve this, the creative thinking of working people must be exploited more.

I am convinced that the working people of Korce district and you cadres and specialists will distinguish yourselves as always in performing the great tasks that lie ahead of us. I wish you success!

Beglov Gives Views on New U.S. Administration

AU1611162288 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 15 Nov 88 pp 1,4

[Article by Spartak Beglov, NOVOSTI political observer: "Moscow Is Ready for a Fruitful Dialogue," especially dispatched for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME]

[Text] Everything points to the fact that the new schedule of contacts between Moscow and Washington at all levels will be adopted as soon as George Bush, the newly elected U.S. president assumes office. The wish of both sides to hold a summit meeting at the earliest time possible is evident as well.

As it was stressed in Soviet circles, speeding up the treaty on the 50 percent reduction of strategic weapons seems to be one of the particularly important and urgent questions on the agenda. The same applies to the problems connected with the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

In the existing conditions the progress toward signing a disarmament agreement is obstructed by the lack of readiness on the U.S. side to end certain programs on the development of new types of weapons, or to subject them to control. This mostly applies to sea-based ballistic missiles and to space weapons systems. Can the noticeable "entrenchment" of the U.S. stand on this question be explained by the influence of the election campaign? This question will be answered very soon.

In his speeches, throughout the campaign, George Bush repeatedly voiced his intention to rely "upon strength and experience." This was the keynote of all his speeches. The first part of this statement will not find a positive response among the Soviet leadership. A popular proverb says: "The one who has strength believes that he does not need a mind!" As to the part of the statement related to the necessity of relying upon experience, which, of course, mostly applies to the recent practical achievements in USSR-U.S. relations—on this point the Soviet Union certainly agrees with Bush. As a matter of fact, had he not insisted upon the subject of continuity in foreign policy, his campaign would have been less successful. Reagan's positive inheritance in the field of Soviet-American relations certainly played a positive role in the election campaign. The positive influence of domestic policy issues on the election results is not as evident. This was confirmed by the fact that the majority of voters preferred to entrust the two chambers of the U.S. Congress to the Democratic Party.

As to the negotiations on drastic limitations of strategic weapons, Moscow considers it an urgent task to ensure a breakthrough toward the signing of a treaty. So far Bush has pointed out, above all, the requirement of "seriously discussing the situation" and made it clearly understood that, according to him, the planned U.S. military programs should remain untouched. It is obvious that certain people, belonging to his inner circle, as in the past, are tempted by the idea of unleashing an unrestrained arms race, in the purpose of "ruining the Soviet Union." Such a temptation, however, is a double-edged sword. For the United States this race may result in pushing this country out of several markets by its West European and Japanese partners who are competitors of the United States.

The new political thinking propagated by Moscow and implemented in practical deeds has won considerable support all over the world precisely because everyone sees in it the only sensible alternative to power play and to ideological confrontation, which led the world into a deadlock. However, consistent progress is one of the chief prerequisites for success in the new policy (a fact which Ronald Reagan had the opportunity to convince himself of). George Bush is now confronted with the same requirement.

Restructuring has been a great help for the Soviet Union in its policy and its behavior on the international scene. The United States will also have to undergo its own restructuring. Perhaps without being properly aware of it, the United States is actually involved in this process already. As for George Bush, he is facing an additional choice: namely, the choice of becoming the continuer of American restructuring, or an instrument within the hands of the forces of stagnation.

Correction to Doynov's 4 Nov Speech

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Doynov Delivers Address," published in the 8 November Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page 1, column 1:

...Speech of Comrade Ognyan Doynov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, at Sofia's 4 November... (deleting title "deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers")

Italian Award for Dubcek Reported

AU1611144688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 88 p 6

[Unattributed report in the "They Wrote, They Said" column]

[Text] The AFP and DPA press agencies report from Bologna that A. Dubcek, who is in Italy on a private visit, received the honorary degree of doctor of political sciences from the local university on Sunday [13 November]. The Italian press reports that this political castaway was awarded this degree "for his political activity in the year 1968."

Motives of Symposium Participants Denounced

AU1611124688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 88 p 2

[Commentary by Vaclav Dolezal: "Attempt at Provocation"]

[Text] Prague Nov 13 (CTK)—A fortnight after the provocative action by antisocialist forces, the same group of people has tried another form of provocation, using the cooperation of NATO organizations for psychological warfare. Western radio sources were also actively involved.

Last weekend, the so-called Charter 77 decided to hold a 'symposium,' called Czechoslovakia'88, in Prague. According to foreign press, some twenty people representing various official and unofficial Western structures, many of them holding strongly anti-Czechoslovak positions, were to arrive under the cloak of tourism to participate in this action.

However, the interest of these 'also-tourists' was not aimed at seeing the culural values of our capital, but at inciting so-called dissidents to still greater antisocialist activitity. Although they failed to carry out their mission, they made use of materials prepared beforehand to discredit our social system and blacken our homeland in the countries of our neighbours. According to foreign press, these materials, which often glorify political structures existing prior to 1938, describe our former historical development from subjectivistic positions, sometimes even in a conflicting way. A similar action with the same political designs was carried out by emigrant and other centers in Vienna on Monday. The intention of both actions has one aim: to cast doubt on the effort of our party and society at restructuring, as well as to complicate the discussions of the Vienna conference and, at variance with the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, to interfere in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs and breach our sovereignty.

Opposition Members Speak on Political Situation

AU1611095588 Vienna Television Service in German 2007 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Editorial Report] Vienna Television Service in German at 2007 GMT on 15 November carries in its regular "Reports From Abroad" program a 10-minute report by ORF correspondent Otto Hoermann, entitled "The New Opposition," which, in addition to clips about the 28 October demonstration in Prague, includes extracts from interviews given to Hoermann in Prague by various members of opposition groups.

Charter 77 member Sasa Vondra states, among other things, that "the communists of the seventies were no authority for me." "I admire writers Vaclav Havel and Ludvik Vaculik." He points out that "Charter 77 is neither an organization nor a movement, but only a group of people who signed the document and have pledged to work with all their strength for the observance of human rights."

Charter 77 spokesman Milos Hajek stresses that "fear has subsided a bit in the CSSR. The 21 August demonstration, which was not organized by Charter 77 or by other known initiatives, has shown that a new situation has emerged." "Young people no longer believe what they were told at school," he states.

Charter 77 member Petr Uhl says he believes that "the Soviet Union exerts considerable influence because people in the CSSR read Soviet papers and the CSSR media carry many articles on these issues. There are people who travel, we watch films and Soviet television in Prague. We are relatively well-informed about the current situation in the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that the CSSR leadership is not carrying out real changes in terms of perestroyka or glasnost—the CSSR leadership, which is very conservative, focuses only on economic issues and ignores the human rights and cultural aspects—people today are less afraid than they were in the past. Young people in particular are not only inspired by the changes in the Soviet Union, but also by the Polish and Hungarian examples, where things are changing in a positive way. This is one aspect. Another aspect is that over the past 2 years the repressive apparatus did not launch as many attacks on us, on the opposition, on new initiatives. But a change has suddenly taken place: Repression again increased in September, October, and November. The regime has realized that this new initiative must be countered, that it must be crushed or its strength reduced."

Jan Chudomel of the "Independent Peace Initiative" points out that "our aim is primarily the legalization of an alternative to military service in the civilian sector and a shortening of the duration of military service." "But we also want to deal with other issues, such as the elimination of barriers between East and West, and full and objective information," he states.

Petr Placak of the "Bohemian Children" stresses the importance of political pluralism. Martina Vondrova of the "Bohemian Women" reports on a demonstration that the group staged to demand a better supply of sanitary towels.

The report concludes with pictures of the arrest of writer Vaclav Havel on 11 November after he had opened the "CSSR 1968" symposium.

Czechoslovak National Front Presidium Meets

Proposed Changes Discussed

LD1411164088 Prague CTK in English 1329 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Prague Nov 14 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak National Front discussed at today's session chaired by Communist Party General Secretary and National Front Central Committee Chairman Milos Jakes the preparations for a session of the National Front Central Committee, which is to take place here on November 17.

In this connection the participants in the session discussed the proposed changes in the structure of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee, its Presidium, the Central Election Commission of the National Front and also the proposed structure of a commission of the Communist Party and National Front for the preparation of a new Czechoslovak Constitution.

Jakes Opens Meeting 17 Nov

LD1711100588 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0900 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] The CSSR National Front Central Committee convened in Prague today for a plenary session. Lubos Lidicky reports:

[Lidicky—in Czech] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR Central Committee, opened the meeting. The session will assess the implementation of conclusions regarding activities by the National Front and organizations affiliated with it in order to increase their participation in the creation, implementation, and control of policies.

The National Front Central Comittee will also take a stance on the current situation and topical tasks which await our society in further securing economic and social restructuring and strengthening socialist democracy.

Comrade Milos Jakes emphasized in the introduction to his speech that the National Front's most important task is to unify people, regardless of their political membership, nationality, and religious conviction for joint work, so as to develop their socialist patriotism and internationalist feelings. It must also reinforce healthy self-confidence and at the same time mobilize forces to fight shortcomings, disorder, and negative phenomena, and everything that contradicts the values of socialism and slows its advance. The National Front is open to all who want to do honest work for the common cause, said Comrade Milos Jakes in the introduction. His speech, which is the report of the Presidium, is still continuing.

Human Rights Group Proposed

LD1711143088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] The CSSR National Front Central Committee convened in Prague today at its plenary session.

Correspondent Lybos Lidicky reports:

At this moment the discussion is on the report of the Presidium delivered by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the National Front Central Committee.

Here are some ideas from his speech: In harmony with the humane essence of the socialist system, the priority direction of the policy of the Communist Party, the National Front, and the socialist state is to secure human rights. We proceed here completely on the basis of international agreements. The socialist concept of human rights in the broad sense means the unity of political, civic, social, economic, and cultural rights.

One of the next steps toward reinforcing the bases for making the rights of our citizens stronger is the proposal to found a Committee of Czechoslovak Citizens for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation.

Comrade Milos Jakes also spoke about topical tasks in connection with the practical implementation of economic and social restructuring. He welcomed the decision of the federal government to speed up this process in such a way as to have the new economic mechanism in operation on 1 January 1990, a year earlier than originally expected. The aim of this is, said Comrade Jakes, is to overcome problems brought about by the transition period, to stabilize the new structure as soon as possible in enterprises, and to change over to complete self-financing in the central bodies.

So, these are some ideas from Comrade Jakes' speech. About 30 people have participated in the discussion so far.

Activities of Federal Assembly Session Detailed

AU1211160488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[Report by RUDE PRAVO staffers Marie Koenigova and Igor Sirota: "Our Program: To Accelerate Reforms; 11th Joint Session of the Chambers of the People and of Nations Opened; Program Statement of the Federal Government Presented by Comrade Ladislav Adamec; Topical Issues of Economic and Social Policy Hold First Place; Government Will Create Conditions Enabling Our New Economic Mechanism to Start Comprehensively Operating on 1 January 1990—1 Year Earlier Than Envisaged; Federal Assembly Approves the Government Statement, Expresses Confidence in the CSSR Government; Several Laws, Law Amendments Develop-

ing the Principles of Economic Restructuring Approved; Participation of Gustav Husak and Milos Jakes"]

[Excerpts] Prague—The deputies of the two CSSR Federal Assembly Chambers discussed the CSSR Government's Program Statement at their 11th joint session, held in Prague on Tuesday [8 November]. After considering the statement, they expressed their confidence in the government. Alois Indra, chairman of our top legislative body, welcomed Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, CSSR President Gustav Husak, and the government members appointed on 12 October 1988 at the session. During the session the deputies approved the legislative measure of the Federal Assembly Presidium on National Day, on public holidays, and on memorable days and other days of special significance (making 28 October, the day when the independent Czechoslovak State was established, a National Day). On the same day the Chambers approved laws and law amendments on enterprises with the involvement of foreign capital, on trademarks, on payments to the state budget and on the income tax, on agricultural tax, and on the Czechoslovak State Bank. They also expressed agreement with the consular accord concluded with the Republic of Nicaragua. [passage omitted]

The purpose of the law on enterprises involved with foreign capital (Jan Sterba, federal minister of foreign trade, presented the rationale) is to adjust both the conditions for founding enterprises with capital belonging to foreigners, and their status in conducting economic activities on CSSR territory. The establishment and operation of such enterprises are primarily aimed at supporting and developing production forces in certain branches of the national economy, by introducing in them modern technologies with the application of top techniques and scientific knowledge. Such enterprises are already operating in the CSSR, and their experience was taken into account in preparing the draft law; it proceeds from the principle of a total economic autonomy of these enterprises and therefore excludes the possibility of economic tasks being set for them by the center. Important CSSR interests are protected by preserving the influence of the center on the regulated establishment of these enterprises. [passage omitted]

In the discussion Deputy Frantisek Stafa voiced his disagreement with the draft law stipulating that a foreign partner's share can amount to more than 50 percent. The government's standpoint was explained to him by Minister J. Sterba, who said that this corresponds to usual practices and that we too want to make use of this possibility in cooperating with foreign partners. The draft law envisages that the enterprises will be governed by the legal norms of the state where they have their headquarters. Deputy F. Stafa still expressed his disagreement when voting. [passage omitted]

The Federal Assembly committees have refrained from proposing text amendments for the law on payments to the state budget and income tax. Speaking after Minister Jan Stejskal's rationale, the committees' joint reporter, Jaroslav Brabec, stated that the committees merely recommend that the effectiveness of present amendments be objectively evaluated when the comprehensive legal amendment for payments and taxes within the framework of the Ninth 5-Year Plan are prepared. This will particularly apply to the rate set for the 50-percent social security contributions. One should consider whether the 50-percent payments from profits correspond to the status of state enterprises under self-financing conditions. The question is: How far one can go in levying taxes on the economic sphere to benefit social consumption? The present aging of fixed assets shows that our extensively oriented investment policy and high payments (despite our insufficiently effective national economy) have obviously failed to provide for a simple reproduction of our production base. [passage omitted]

The draft law on agricultural taxation (the rationale was given by Minister J. Stejskal) concerns taxes on land, wages and remunerations, profit, and the citizens' incomes from agricultural production. The existing agricultural taxation system has become outdated and does not exert sufficient pressure to step up effectiveness. The new economic mechanism will start fully operating in agriculture only if we establish conditions for an effective economy and development of the agricultural and food complex as a whole. The new amendment will help unify the taxation system for all organizations in agricultural production, agricultural services, and the food industry. In preparing the land tax amendment, the results of the quality-rating of our agricultural land fund were taken into account. The purpose of taxes on wages and salaries is to improve the objective evaluation of the labor input. The proposed uniform profit taxation should affect 50 percent of all economic activity; this tax base should equal that of the levies on profit and the income tax. In view of the specific conditions in primary agricultural production, this base will be reduced by the amount of minimum deductible, as one of the instruments providing for the self-financing of enterprises. The proposed income tax for citizens is commensurate to the taxation of the population's other incomes.

In his rationale on the amendment of the Czechoslovak State Bank law, Minister Jan Stejskal said that it will create the necessary legal prerequisites for introducing one-tier exchange rates for the Czechoslovak currency. [passage omitted] In view of the CSSR's economic and price development, the value of the Czechoslovak koruna (based on its gold contents) has gradually become unrealistic and has had to be corrected with the aid of various surcharges, supplementary charges, and coefficients. This has led to the present most complicated currency exchange rate system.

In order to make the exchange rate of the Czechoslovak koruna more objective (by introducing the one-tier and, in the future, even uniform exchange rate) it is necessary to abolish its present legal linkage with gold and the

rubel. According to the proposed amendment, the exchange rate will be determined by the Czechoslovak State Bank on the basis of principles approved by the CSSR Government.

The consular accord with the Republic of Nicaragua was also approved. [passage omitted]

Resolution of 8 Nov Outlined

AU1211161988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 88 p 2

["Resolution of the Federal Assembly"]

[Text] At the 11th joint meeting of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations on 8 November 1988, the CSSR Federal Assembly discussed the program statement of the CSSR Government delivered by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec.

The Federal Assembly expects that the CSSR Government—in the interest of our society's further socioeconomic development, and in accordance with the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 7th, 9th, and 10th CPCZ Central Committee Sessions, which have won the support of all organizations affiliated in the National Front—will **ensure**:

—the restructuring of the economic mechanism, the deepening of socialist democracy, and the growth in the population's standard of living,

—the perfection of its management, control, and organizational activity in all spheres of social, economic, and cultural life,

—the realization of all necessary structural changes in the economy and a substantially faster introduction of the latest findings of science, techniques, and progressive technologies in production,

—the enhancement of activity in the economic integration of the CEMA member states, and the development of cooperation with the EEC and other countries,

—the comprehensive improvement of the quality and efficiency of production, and a gradual smooth supply of the domestic market with high-quality products in the required choice and quantity,

—the further development of science, culture, and the arts, and the increase in the educational level of the populace, especially of the young generation,

— the comprehensive care for the health of the people, and the creation and protection of the environment,

—the defense capability, protection, and security of the state and its citizens in close coordination with the countries of the socialist community, especially with the Soviet Union, and the further development of our state's peaceful foreign policy,

—the consistent implementation of the legislative program and the timely submittal of government draft laws to the Federal Assembly.

The Federal Assembly **approves** the program statement of the CSSR Government, the consistent implementation of which it will systematically supervise, and **expresses** its confidence in the CSSR Government in accordance with Article 36 of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation.

Czech National Council Discusses Shortfalls

AU0511164188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Nov 88 pp 1,2

["(nig, is)"-signed report: "Czech and Slovak National Council Deputies Convenes; Enhanced Demands on Government Work"]

[Excerpts] Prague—This Tuesday [1 November] the Czech and Slovak National Councils—the top legislative agencies of the two republics—discussed the implementation of the program statements of the Czech and Slovak Governments. The purpose of their deliberations was to assess how the governments have been accomplishing their tasks in accelerating social and economic development on the basis of the 17th CPCZ Congress. At both sessions the chairmen of the National Councils congratulated the new premiers on their election to their high state offices: Josef Kempny congratulated Frantisek Pitra, and Viliam Salgovic congratulated Ivan Knotek. The two chairmen also presented the new ministers to the deputies. The Prague session was attended by Karel Urbanek, chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR; the Bratislava session was attended by Ignac Janak, first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee.

From the Czech National Council

Comrade Frantisek Pitra stated that the absolute shortfall in the creation of the national income already amounts to Kcs14.4 billion; the adjusted value added has dropped by Kcs7.4 billion, and the deliveries of consumer goods to the domestic market by Kcs1.9 billion (in retail prices). Undoubtedly these are very serious deviations from the plan, and the failure to fulfill the plan is reflected in the way the citizens' needs are being met.

The government regards deliveries to the domestic market and the improvement of services to the population (including medical care) and of housing and environmental conditions as a priority. The citizens are dissatisfied with the inadequate range of footwear, children's

clothing, sanitary essentials, consumer electronics goods, and other products on the market. The current situation is because of the low production capacity, outdated technologies, and inadequate foresight and concepts of their development and modernization. Meanwhile the government is looking for the best possible solution in the entire area of housing construction administered by the national committees—3,000 apartments less than planned have been completed. One of the most serious tasks is to enhance the output of the building industry.

In order to reach these and other goals it is essential to implement the comprehensive restructuring of our economic mechanism in practice. At the moment the new organizational structure of roughly half of the future state enterprises has become clear.

The development of the economy is mainly aimed at providing proper care for the citizens' health, the development and education of the younger generation, higher cultural standards of the population, and better social care. The environmental situation is an important factor affecting our living standards. Almost half of the population in the Czech SR is living under impaired environmental conditions. The ministries, national committees, and enterprises are still not devoting proper attention to this sphere—the solution of these problems is being treated with impermissible laxity. [passage omitted]

In the discussion, deputy Jan Onderka spoke of the irregular deliveries of certain kinds of goods, a fact which raises the costs for society, leads to people buying up and hoarding certain goods, stimulates panicking, undermines the authority of management agencies, and negatively affects the citizens' morality.

Deputy Oldrich Bursky stated that the program statement is not being comprehensively fulfilled for the working man. The sickness rate is growing and absence from work because of sickness is rising; moreover, we have the highest mortality rate of all the developed countries. The stabilization of medical doctors and pharmaceutical staff has also not improved, despite all the measures taken. [passage omitted]

Church Committee Celebrates Republic Anniversary

AU1411171688 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Nov 88 p 1

[CTK report: "The 70th Anniversary of Czechoslovakia's Establishment; Committee of CSSR Church and Religious Functionaries Convenes; Church Dignitaries Received by Gustav Husak"]

[Text] Prague—CSSR President Gustav Husak received the representatives of the Committee of CSSR Church and Religious Functionaries—Professor Karol Gabris, doctor of divinity and dean of the Slovak Evangelic School of Divinity in Bratislava, and Roman Catholic Cannon Zdenek Adler, doctor of divinity and the Committee's moderator—at Prague Castle on Thursday [10 November].

The Committee representatives briefed CSSR President Gustav Husak on the course and conclusions of the extended solemn session in honor of the 70th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's establishment and presented him with a statement adopted by church and religious functionaries at this meeting. The committee representatives assured Gustav Husak that the churches and the believers would support the efforts to preserve world peace and that they would contribute toward further developing our fatherland.

At the reception the CSSR president expressed high appreciation of the committee's activities, of the energetic stand maintained by the church representatives and believers in the matter of our state's peace efforts, and of their determination to fully participate in resolving the tasks facing our society. In conclusion he wished the committee much success in its further activities.

The reception was attended by Frantisek Salda, chief of the Chancellery of the CSSR president, and by Vladimir Janku, deputy minister-director of the Church Affairs Secretariat of the CSSR Government.

The Committee of CSSR Church and Religious Functionaries, which rallies the top functionaries and representatives of all churches and religious societies in the CSSR, convened yesterday [10 November] in Prague for a solemn session on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's establishment. After Bishop Jan Lebeda delivered the spiritual address, the committee's moderator, Karol Gabris, dean of the Slovak Evangelic School of Divinity in Bratislava, welcomed CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec and other guests. In his statement CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec stressed the efforts made by our socialist state and our Federal Government to maintain the optimum relations with the churches and believers.

Such prominent church representatives as Lubomir Mirejovsky, secretary general of the Christian Peace Conference; Stefan Janega, dean of the Cyril and Methodius School of Divinity in Bratislava; and Milan Salajka, dean of Jan Hus School of Divinity in Prague, expressed the full support of both churches and believers for the program of further socialist development in our fatherland.

In conclusion of the session the participants adopted a declaration, stating (inter alia):

"We state that we are intrinsically and sincerely bound to the Czechoslovak people's efforts in restructuring and in further developing the economic, social, and spiritual

spheres. This requires from us a new resolve, a new way of thinking, a new life style. At the present solemn gathering we jointly encourage each other to embark on this road.

"In this spirit we call upon the believers to follow these goals in their prayers, in their workplaces, and in our common religious and church life."

The session was also attended by Vladimir Janku, deputy minister-director of the Church Affairs Secretariat of the CSSR Government.

Adamec Speech to Believers

AU1511094988 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Nov 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "From the Speech of CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec," delivered at the session of the Committee of CSSR Church and Religious Functionaries in honor of the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Czechoslovakia in Prague on 10 November]

[Text] I am glad to be able to meet the representatives of churches and religious societies on such a significant occasion as the 70th anniversary of Czechoslovak statehood. Together with the people of our country the churches are recalling this historic event. You have identified yourselves with the celebrations of this memorable day as the representatives of believers among our citizens, and you have expressed the will to take part in making its legacy come true. We respect for this stand.

We have been recalling the events of 70 years ago not merely out of respect for the struggles of those times, but for the achievements that have been won. We are reverting to the past in order to draw inspiration from its great and lasting features, in order to separate the wheat from the chaff, the right steps from the wrong ones, the outdated from the viable. Such a critical and self-critical look at the past is particularly essential and useful when things are changing, when we are at the crossroads of developments or about to enter a new stage. This is precisely what is happening now.

We must speed up our progress, quickly get rid of all that is outdated, and multiply all positive and promising values to the utmost.

The new government has only been working for a short time—tomorrow it will be precisely 1 month since we were sworn in according to the Constitution. We have not yet been able to appraise everything, to adopt a stand on every matter. However, we have already come to realize that we have taken a heavy responsibility upon ourselves.

It is never a good thing to simplify a complicated situation. That is why we have not taken the easy, the popular path. We have even rejected such a course (seemingly the least painful) as to become resigned to the existing situation. We have opted for a program that is in line with the best pages of our history, in harmony with the progressive traditions of the Czech and Slovak nations. We have set ourselves one basic task: to lead our fatherland away from the serious risk of increasing the degree to which it lags, to raise it to the level of the leading countries in every kind of scientific-technical, economic, social, and cultural progress. We know that we have set ourselves a high goal which might even seem unattainable to people of little faith. However, we are convinced that it will win general support—perhaps not immediately, not tomorrow, possibly only after some time, after we have proved in practice that we are serious about this. I would like to express the conviction that you, too, with your authority will support our endeavors, that the majority of believers among our citizens will support these goals.

The history of our country has proved that the principles of religious freedom are justified. The progressive forces of our nations achieved success whenever they acted in unison, regardless of religious conviction. The idea of a state of religious tolerance helped to strengthen our statehood in good times and bad times, unifying the ideas, longings, and deeds of our nations for the benefit of their common interests. On the other hand religious intolerance, oppression, and discrimination of people of other religious denominations always harmed the national cause.

The 40-year development of our country under the conditions of socialism confirms that the principle of equal rights for all citizens—believers and nonbelievers—is right. It proves that it is essential to be realistic about differences in the world outlook, and not to close our eyes to the diversity of philosophical, legal, and moral stands. But is it really an insuperable obstacle, preventing the socialist state from becoming a worthy and just representative of all people?

Our program statement contained a call to all patriots, to every honorable person who has the best interests of his country at heart, to cooperate with us. It is obvious that this offer also applies to the churches and religious societies. At the same time we are not so much concerned with having people pledge allegiance to our plans, or to merely agree with our intentions. What we have in mind is your practical contribution. We do not doubt that you can do a great deal for the cause of material and spiritual progress, for the people's happiness and satisfaction. We think that your religious convictions allow you to do this, that such practical civic attitudes are in harmony with your faith.

A great many things separate us, but the number of things uniting us is even greater: the duty to fulfill the legacy of our ancestors, every man's natural endeavor to live in peace, to be rid of the fear of a nuclear catastrophe, and to stop being concerned about the future of his nation and his descendants.

Our socialist state and our federal government are striving to have the very best relations with the churches and believers. We will continue to consolidate these relations in the spirit of mutual trust and common interests. Our stand on this is quite unambiguous. We have nothing to conceal. It is our intention to have an open policy, not a cabinet policy, in this respect. We have declared that we are prepared for a broad dialogue and we are willing to listen to all well-meant advice and views.

It is our intention to be a resolute government, to demand adherence to laws, and to respect laws ourselves. At the same time, we know very well that new ideas are born in free, creative discussions and in unprejudiced searches for points of contact which do not damn diverging views or harbor unnecessary suspicions.

We have expressed the unambiguous will to combine economic and political reforms. Our aim is a strong social policy and concern for man's everyday needs. In order to achieve this, we are relying on devotion to honest work, and regard noble interpersonal relations as basic and supportive of the morality of honesty, sincerity, and truthfulness. We, as protagonists, are convinced of the widest possible democratism and a highly cultured political life.

We stand firmly on the positions of socialism and are deeply devoted to its ideals; we proceed from its achievements and advantages. However, we also refuse to evade clashes of views or polemics used to find the truth and improve the people's lives.

We follow up all that is positive in the relations between the state and the churches. We appreciate your considerable share in the effort to establish a traditionally good cooperation. We know that the new generations coming after us will proceed to evaluate our intentions and our deeds. I would like to express the conviction that we will succeed in jointly creating bilaterally sincere and useful relations—relations which will pass the unrelenting test of time.

Report on 9-Month Plan Fulfillment Published

AU0411124088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Oct 88 p 4

["Report of the Federal Bureau of Statistics on the Development of the National Economy and the Fulfillment of the CSSR State Plan in the First Three Quarters of 1988"]

[Text] The plan of the overall volume of production in all manufacturing branches of the national economy was fulfilled in the third quarter of the year as well as in the first three quarters of the year, but the planned production has not been secured in terms of its structure and assortment and shortcomings in the implementation of some qualitative indicators have persisted.

The tasks in the growth of industrial and building production were exceeded in the first 9 months, but since May the rate of growth has been slowing down and this slowdown deepened further in the third quarter of the year. Compared with the same period of 1987, the volume of industrial production rose by 2.6 percent and the volume of building work by 0.6 percent. The harvest of grain crops and meat production were higher than planned. The timetable for the procurement of the main products of animal origin was exceeded with the exception of milk.

The growth rate of adjusted net output also exceeded the target of the annual plan; this was favorably influenced, in part, by the decline in the material-intensiveness of production. This has enabled a faster growth of national income than was projected in the plan for this year.

However, the results must not be overestimated. No marked progress has been achieved in raising national economic efficiency through intensification. In view of the development of wage and financial costs, total cost-intensiveness is higher than planned. The planned ratio between labor productivity growth and average wages is not being adhered to. The contribution of the results of scientific-technical development continues to fall short of requirements. The number of products of high technical standard and quality is not increasing at the required pace. A number of enterprises fails to meet their planned targets in the volume and structure of production. This adversely affects the quality and regularity of supplies to the domestic and foreign markets, aggravates inadequacies in supplying enterprises with materials and equipment, and accounts for the growth in inventories.

A total of Kcs112.7 billion were invested in the national economy, which is more than in the same period last year, although the state plan provides for a decline in investments. Deliveries of machinery and equipment not included in the investment projects' budgets have increased at a particularly fast rate. The plan for putting important capacities into operation is not being fulfilled.

Foreign trade turnover with socialist countries increased 1.4 percent and the growth of both exports and imports was faster than planned. The planned volume of exports to nonsocialist states was not attained.

As regards the domestic market, the retail trade turnover grew faster than planned, as a result of a growing volume of consumer goods deliveries from both domestic production and exports and also as a result of an unplanned growth in the personal earnings of the population. Compared with the same period last year, the personal earnings of the population increased 4.1 percent, deliveries to the domestic trade (in retail prices) 5.8 percent, and retail trade turnover 5.1 percent. At the same time, a number of shortcomings on the domestic market lingered on and the supply of merchandise did not conform to the required extent with demand in terms of volume, product range, and quality.

The fulfillment of the plan for housing construction and apartment modernization has so far been unsatisfactory.

Scientific-Technical Development

The insufficient and slow practical application of the results of research and development continues to be the key problem of intensification. This has found its expression in the unsatisfactory maximalization of spent fuels, energy, and raw and processed materials, but also in the slow introduction of product and technology innovations and in the insufficient production of high-quality products of high technical-economic standards.

New products accounted for 4.9 percent of the total volume of industrial production, which is little in comparison with advanced countries.

The trend in the volume of products of high technical-economic standards was unsatisfactory, as these products accounted for 13.6 percent of the total volume of industrial products, which was a slightly lower share than in the same period of last year.

Industry

Industrial production increased 2.6 percent, while the annual state plan envisages a 2.1 percent growth. Average daily production increased 2.1 percent. Roughly one-quarter of organizations failed to meet their economic plans for the first three quarters of the year. The gross production shortfall of enterprises that did not meet their plan targets amounted to Kcs4.1 billion while their shortfall in the production of merchandise amounted to Kcs4.3 billion.

The greatest increase in production has been registered in electrical engineering, in the production of glass, ceramics, and china, and in the wood-working industry. Aggregate coal extraction declined 1.6 percent, while the annual state plan foresees a 2.4 percent decline. The reduction manifested itself particularly in the production of brown coal and lignite, which declined 2.0 percent. Electricity generation increased 0.9 percent, with the fastest increase (5.7 percent) registered by nuclear power stations. They accounted for 26.6 percent of total electricity generation.

The volume of net adjusted output in industry increased 5.9 percent, which conforms with the projections of the annual plan. A total of 23.7 percent of enterprises failed to fulfill the plan, compared with 30.2 percent last year.

The proportion of total costs in the volume of output decreased by 0.85 percentage points (the proportion of material costs alone decreased by 1.10 percentage points) and was thus lower than the proportion planned for the year as a whole. The overall cost-intensiveness provided for in the annual state plan has not been achieved, however, because of the higher-than-planned level of financial and wage costs. Profits rose by 11.9 percent, which is more than foreseen in the annual plan.

The effectiveness of production assets continued to decrease. The use of fixed assets dropped further, by 2.3 percent, and although the turnover of inventories accelerated, by 0.3 days, this acceleration remained below the level foreseen in the annual plan. The value of inventories increased by Kcs8.0 billion, with organizations run by the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry accounting for the bulk of this increase (Kcs5.2 billion).

Labor productivity in industry calculated from the volume of adjusted net output increased 5.9 percent and labor productivity calculated from gross production increased 2.5 percent (the annual plan foresees a 1.2 percent growth in labor productivity calculated from gross production). In spite of this, the ratio between the development of labor productivity calculated from gross production and the development of average wages deviates from the targets of the annual plan, on account of a higher-than-planned growth in average wages.

Industry employed 2,714,000 people, 0.1 percent more than in the same period last year. Monthly wages of industrial employees averaged Kcs3,231 and were 2.4 percent higher than in the same period last year. A number of enterprises failed to abide by the planned ratio between wage costs and adjusted net output.

The total sales volume of industry increased 2.0 percent in wholesale prices. Planned deliveries were exceeded, on aggregate, in all the main directions of sales but some enterprises did not come to terms with their planned tasks. The volume of machinery and equipment deliveries decreased 7.8 percent (which was in harmony with the planned target), while deliveries to the domestic market increased 4.8 percent, deliveries for export to socialist countries 2.0 percent, and deliveries for export to nonsocialist countries 8.5 percent.

Despite the growth in production and sales, demand for a whole number of industrial products has not been continually met as regards both the requisite range and the quality of these products. Shortcomings in the supply of spare parts persisted.

The Development of Basic Indicators in Selected Branches (Planning Groups) of the Centrally Administered Industry in the First Three Quarters of the Year

	Adjusted net output as a percentage of economic plan fulfillment	Adjusted net output in first three quarters of 1988 as a percentage of the first three quarters of 1987	Gross output as a percentage of economic plan fulfillment	Gross output in first three quarters of 1988 as a percentage of the first three quarters of 1987	Number of employees in the first three quarters of 1988 as a percentage of the first three quarters of 1987	Labor productivity of employees [1]
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
centrally administered industry (including industry run by regional national committees)	101.2	105.9	100.8	102.6	100.1	105.9
of this:						
coal production	102.2	99.9	102.6	99.8	101.1	98.8
generation of heat and electricity	101.5	104.2	97.8	100.3	101.5	102.7
metallurgy total, including ores extraction	102.7	104.3	101.4	100.9	99.7	104.6
of this:						
ferrous metallurgy	102.9	104.6	101.5	100.7	99.6	105.0
engineering, total	99.3	105.2	100.3	103.1	100.0	105.2
of this:						
heavy engineering	100.1	101.7	100.2	101.4	100.0	101.8
general engineering	97.8	103.8	100.1	101.9	99.8	104.0
electrical engineering	101.1	113.0	101.1	108.3	100.7	112.2
chemical industry, total	102.0	111.3	101.2	103.4	99.7	111.5
of this:						
petrochemical industry and crude oil refining	102.2	111.9	101.3	103.5	99.8	112.1
rubber and plastics industry	100.8	107.8	100.6	102.5	99.6	108.2
light industry, total	101.4	106.4	101.0	103.5	99.5	107.0
of this:						
wood-processing industry administered by the ministries of industry	102.2	109.1	101.5	104.1	99.8	109.3
glass, ceramics, and china industry	101.1	109.1	100.0	106.6	100.1	108.9
textile industry	100.7	104.8	101.2	103.2	99.1	105.7
apparel industry	102.3	106.3	100.7	102.5	99.5	106.9

	Adjusted net output as a percentage of economic plan fulfillment	Adjusted net output in first three quarters of 1988 as a percentage of the first three quarters of 1987	Gross output as a percentage of economic plan fulfillment	Gross output in first three quarters of 1988 as a percentage of the first three quarters of 1987	Number of employees in the first three quarters of 1988 as a percentage of the first three quarters of 1987	Labor productivity of employees [1]
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
leather-processing and footwear industry	102.7	109.0	101.1	102.5	99.8	109.2
printing industry	102.1	103.1	101.5	104.0	99.3	103.9
construction materials industry	101.7	108.3	102.1	105.3	100.3	108.0
wood-processing industry administered by the ministries of forestry, water management, and wood-processing industry, total	101.3	107.9	100.9	103.4	99.4	108.6
of this:						
wood-processing industry	100.9	107.3	100.5	103.5	99.1	108.2
cellulose and paper industry	101.8	108.7	101.3	103.3	99.8	108.9

[1] (calculated from adjusted net output) in first three quarters of 1988 as a percentage of the first three quarters of 1987

Agricultural-Food Complex

Good results were achieved in the grain harvest, which amounted to 11,822,000 tonnes, 372,000 tonnes more than planned and 51,000 tonnes more than the year before. The average harvest in the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan [1981-85] amounted to 10,893,000 tonnes. Per-hectare grain yields averaged 4.76 tonnes. The oil rape harvest exceeded the 1987 harvest by 43,000 tonnes, and the harvest of edible legumes exceeded the 1987 harvest by 37,000 tonnes. Compared with last year's levels, the potato harvest is estimated to be about 430,000 tonnes higher and the harvest of corn grown for grain and silage about 660,000 tonnes higher. The sugar beet harvest is expected to fall short of last year's harvest by 1,090,000 tonnes, which is 16 percent.

In animal farming, the favorable trend in the yields of farm animals continued. The number of reared calves and piglets increased, and so did average egg yields. The numbers of beef cattle and hogs increased. Planned procurement tasks have been fulfilled [for all produce of animal origin] with the exception of milk, whose procurement is 40 million liters in arrears.

The volume of gross output in the food industry increased 2.1 percent (the annual state plan provides for a 2.6 percent increase). Adjusted net output increased 9.0 percent. The volume of deliveries by the food industry to the domestic market in retail prices increased 3.2 percent.

Forest Economy

Timber production in the first three quarters of the year totalled 13.7 million cubic meters, which is 75.7 percent of the annual state plan. Salvage cutting [nahodila tezba] accounted for 37 percent of the entire timber production. Deliveries of timber amounted to 13.5 million tonnes, which is 75.5 percent of the amount planned for the year as a whole. Afforestation was carried out on 44,400 hectares, which means that 87.5 percent of the afforestation plan has already been fulfilled.

Water Management

Consumers were supplied with 1.008 billion cubic meters of drinking water from public water mains in the first three quarters of the year, which is 75.1 percent of the task planned for the whole year. At the end of the third quarter the proportion of the population supplied with water from public water mains reached 78.5 percent and the proportion of the population living in homes

connected to the public sewage grid reached 64.2 percent. Losses in the distribution network, which amount to roughly 20 percent of all the water produced, are a constant problem.

Building Industry

Construction enterprises carried out with their own employees building work worth Kcs73.3 billion, which was 0.6 percent more than in the equivalent period last year. However, the growth rate of building work is slowing down and the lead created at the beginning of the year is gradually disappearing.

The adjusted net output of construction enterprises reached Kcs31.2 billion and exceeded last year's level by 0.8 percent. However, it still fell 0.8 percent short of the economic plan.

Despite a generally favorable fulfillment of volume indicators, considerable differences in plan fulfillment between individual construction enterprises persisted. A total of 42.4 percent of construction enterprises failed to cope with their planned tasks with respect to construction work carried out by their own employees and 35.7 percent of construction enterprises failed to cope with their planned adjusted net output.

Construction enterprises employed 551,800 persons, 2,900 fewer than last year.

Labor productivity calculated from the volume of construction work carried out by the construction enterprises' own employees increased 1.1 percent, and labor productivity calculated from adjusted net output 1.3 percent. Average monthly wages of employees in the building industry rose by Kcs96, that is, 2.9 percent, to Kcs3,360. Wages thus continued to grow faster than the labor productivity.

Transportation

The transportation sector provided for the transport needs of our national economy. The volume of goods transported and of raw and other materials has sharply increased.

The public freight transport system conveyed 487.9 million tonnes of goods (a 3.0-percent increase); and the economic transportation plan was fulfilled 101.6 percent. The Czechoslovak State Railroads (CSD) accounted for 45.5 percent of public freight transportation; the figure for the Czechoslovak State Automobile Transportation (CSAD) was 52.2 percent, and for river transportation 2.3 percent.

The CSD's railroad transport system transported 221.8 million tonnes of goods (a 2.6-percent increase) and the economic plan was fulfilled 110.4 percent. Railroad loading totalled 188.4 million tonnes of goods.

The CSAD's road freight transport system transported 254.9 million tonnes of goods, which is 3.0 percent more than in the same period last year. The transportation plan based on transportation contracts was fulfilled 112.0 percent. We still have problems with spare parts for the repair of freight vehicles.

The river transportation system transported 11.2 million tonnes of goods, which is a 8.4-percent increase; 18.9 percent of this was accounted for by steam coal.

The planned passenger transportation tasks were accomplished. The number of passengers carried by the city mass transportation facilities (particularly the subway) increased. Although the plan is being fulfilled with regard to the number of passengers transported, our intentions to improve the quality of passenger transport are not. The overloading of certain railroad, but also bus lines is manifest; there are frequent delays and the standards of cleanliness and hygiene are low, particularly in railroad transportation. The shortcomings in mass city transportation (except the subway) persist; this particularly applies to irregular traffic and the failure to adhere to set intervals at peak times. The result is the overloading of vehicles and deteriorating standards in passenger transportation for our citizens. This unsatisfactory state of affairs is due to shortcomings in the technical base and to understaffing in the operational apparatus, but also to inadequate management standards.

Communications

The planned tasks in the installation of telephones were accomplished; 58,000 lines have been installed in apartments, increasing the total number of telephones by 4.1 percent. However, due to the steadily growing demand, we have not succeeded in cutting down the number of pending applications.

The Postfax service for the long-distance transmission of texts and graphic art in intrastate operations was introduced on 1 June 1988; on 1 October 1988 this service was internationally expanded to 20 states.

Foreign Trade

Our foreign trade turnover has increased 2.3 percent; 1.4 of this is accounted for by trade with the socialist countries, 5.8 percent by trade with the nonsocialist states. By the end of September the total annual state plan for exports was fulfilled 73.4 percent; the figure for exports to socialist countries is 74.9 percent, to nonsocialist states 70.5 percent. The annual state plan for imports was fulfilled 70.2 percent; the figure for socialist countries is 72.4 percent, for nonsocialist states 66.3 percent.

Foreign trade with socialist countries shows an unplanned surplus (due to higher exports to these countries than planned and, in certain instances, also to the

failure to accomplish the import tasks). As for the nonsocialist states, our turnover with the developing states has slowed down, and accelerated with the developed states. The fulfillment of the annual plan for exports of engineering products is being threatened.

Our foreign trade was more effective than last year, and also more than planned (the export margin indicator serving as the criterion). The price drop in raw material imports led to the improvement of the overall terms of trade.

The establishment of further direct relations (particularly with USSR organizations) has so far produced 12 joint enterprises, and led to the conclusion of more than 360 agreements on direct relations between Czechoslovak and Soviet organizations by the end of August.

Capital Construction

The volume of investment work and deliveries (minus the "Z" community self-improvement projects and the citizens' private construction projects) was 6.6 percent higher than in the same period last year, thus sharply deviating from the intentions of the plan (particularly in agriculture). Since the 1988 state plan envisages a 2.4-percent decline, the CSSR Government adopted measures to cut down investments and limit the number of newly opened construction sites. The volume of construction work amounted to Kcs59.2 billion, the volume of machinery and equipment deliveries to Kcs53.5 billion. Compared with the same period last year, this represents a 3.2-percent and 10.5-percent increase respectively. The greatest dynamism was noted particularly in the machinery and equipment deliveries not included in the budgets of construction projects.

Although the proportion of investment resources spent on the modernization and restructuring of existing production assets (including renewals) amounted to more than 30 percent, this figure still does not correspond to the demands of development.

We have not succeeded in eliminating certain shortcomings which have an adverse impact on the smooth and effective course of the capital investment process (such as the accumulation of projects nearing completion toward the end of the year, the rising budgeted costs of uncompleted construction projects, and the failure to achieve the planned figures in completed construction projects).

The state plan for developing the national economy specifies 100 facilities for test operations by the end of this year, as binding tasks of the state plan. So far 51 facilities have been put into operation since the beginning of 1988, such as the eastern sector of the transit gas pipeline in Slovakia, the rolling line in the Technoplast works in Chropyne, and the facility for producing medical drugs in Kourim, where test operations began in the third quarter of 1988; the construction of the Robot plant in Presov was completed in the same period, and the same can be said of other facilities, such as the turbine of the small hydro-electric power plant in Velke Kozmalovce, the power and heating plant in Mohelnice, and the pumping station for the water main in Spindleruv Mlyn.

However, neither the Pecky ZPA Machinery and Automation Plant in Cakovice, nor the silo hydraulics in the Agrozet plant in Uhersky Brod could be commissioned for test operations; the same applies to the gray cast iron foundry of the CKD works in Hradec Kralove.

Living Standards

The overall increase of personal consumption was higher than planned, particularly because of the rising employment figures and the increasing incomes of the population. However, the level at which the population's needs were being met was affected by shortcomings in the structure and range of goods offered.

The socialist sector of the national economy (united agricultural cooperatives excluded) employed 7,020,000 persons, which is 0.6 percent more than last year. Employment grew, above all, in the nonproduction spheres (by 1.6 percent), particularly in education, in health and social services, trade-technical services, the housing economy, tourism, and communal services.

Compared with the plan, the personal earnings of the population were exceeded by Kcs5.8 billion. It was, above all, the higher-than-planned wage increases, the wage-political measures (for example, in education and domestic trade), as well as the increase in loans to newlyweds that played a part in the figure for the personal earnings of the population being exceeded.

The nominal personal earnings of the population rose by 4.1 percent, and reached Kcs334,8 billion. The average monthly wages of an employee in the socialist sector of the national economy (united agricultural cooperatives excluded) amounted to Kcs3,092 and thus rose by 2.6 percent. The comparable average wages of an employee in a united agricultural cooperative rose by 3.2 percent to Kcs3,275. The growth of retail trade turnover corresponded more or less to the growth of incomes; thus the higher-than-planned increase in incomes was spent despite the shortcomings on the domestic market.

The cash expenditure of the population rose by 4.6 percent and constituted Kcs321,2 billion. At the end of September, the population's savings with state savings banks reached Kcs259,6 billion, and loans to the population amounted to Kcs43 billion.

The total index of retail prices of goods and services rose by 0.1 percent, and the index of the cost of living by 0.2 percent.

As a results of temporary price reductions, price indexes for eggs were lower (by 3.7 percent), fresh vegetables (by 12 percent), and fruit (by 5.4 percent), because the earlier harvest, influenced by favorable weather, accelerated the seasonal drop in prices. Prices of girdles and corsets, synthetic fibre textiles, and some kinds of drugstore products were also reduced.

The retail trade turnover of the main trade systems rose by 4.4 percent and reached Kcs197.4 billion (in current prices). The annual state plan envisages a 1.1-percent growth. The retail trade turnover of all systems together rose by 5.1 percent.

Despite this development in turnover and the larger volume of deliveries to the domestic market, the range of products did not correspond to the consumer demand in terms of quantity, quality, and technical standards, and a number of products—even for everyday use—remained in short supply.

The foodstuffs supply was, on the whole, regular. The supply of poultry, eggs, fats, dairy products (with the exception of fermented milk products) continued to be good. The deliveries of meat products rose by 11,400 tonnes (1.9 percent). However, there was shortage of cheaper kinds of meat, forcemeat [sekane vyrobky], and in some localities also of bakery products, biscuits, and beverages.

Compared with the same period last year, the deliveries of CSSR-made industrial products increased. For example, 208,600 color television sets (index 129.8); 167,100 refrigerators (index 128.7); 129,700 freezers (index 128.7); and 99,300 passenger automobiles (index 113.8) were delivered to the domestic market. Despite that, the needs of the population were not fully covered. In addition to some engineering and electrotechnical products, also furniture (especially in the third-quarter), construction materials, and some kinds of drugstore products were in short supply. The available range of textiles, ready-made garments, knitwear, socks, textile fancy goods, and footwear did not always fully correspond to the demand. The range of equipment for tourism and water sports was insufficient.

The imbalance in the range of goods on the domestic market is caused, in particular, by the production's and trade's slow adaptation to the needs of the population.

In the sphere of paid services for the population it was, above all, personal services (laundries, dry cleaners, hairdressers and barbers) which were expanding. Shortage of spare parts made the expansion of repair services difficult. The demand for services of the construction sector was not satisfied because of the shortage of construction organizations' capacities. Of late, some service enterprises are beginning to increasingly concentrate on selling their own and purchased products rather than on expanding services for the population.

A total of 43,200 apartments were completed within the framework of all sectors of housing construction, of which there were 10,600 communal apartments; 18,000 cooperative apartments; 700 enterprise apartments; and 13,900 private apartments. Compared with the same period last year, this was 3,235 more apartments. However, the imbalance in completing the construction of apartments in terms of time and locality continues. The annual plan has been fulfilled by only 44.2 percent to date. There were 69,000 apartment construction start-ups.

We still have not succeeded in motivating construction enterprises for the modernization of the housing stock. A total of 1,100 apartments were modernized, which is only 17.7 percent of the annual plan.

Works worth Kcs3.2 billion were created in the "Z" project, of which Kcs0.8 billion was in the sphere of the water economy, Kcs0.6 billion was in the sphere of trade and public catering, Kcs0.4 billion was in the sphere of physical culture, and Kcs0.5 billion in the sphere of production and services.

For the benefit of the environment, a total of 155 ecological projects were started, budgeted at Kcs18.8 billion, of which 89 projects for the protection of water purity are budgeted at Kcs7.8 billion; 28 projects for the protection of the atmosphere are budgeted at Kcs2.2 billion; and 21 projects for the elimination and recycling of wastes are budgeted at Kcs1.9 billion. However, the work on a part of these projects is not proceeding in accordance with the planned deadlines.

The population increased by 0.2 percent. A total of 165,000 children were born and 132,000 persons died. The natural increase (33,000 persons) is roughly the same as last year. The CSSR had a population of 15,620,000 at the end of September.

Romania's Ceausescu Arrives on Working Visit

Welcomed by Honecker

LD1711101188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0950 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, arrived this morning in Berlin for a working meeting. He comes at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, who cordially welcomed his guest at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport. Other members of the GDR party and state leadership were there to welcome Nicolae Ceausescu and the person accompanying him.

Meets With Honecker for Talks

LD1711120888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1038 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and Socialist Republic of Romania president, today met at the Central Committee building in Berlin for talks. Official talks between both politicians and other persons from both sides will begin here this morning.

The members of Nicolae Ceausescu's entourage are: Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister and member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee; Ion Stoian Political Executive Committee candidate member and RCP Central Committee secretary; Nicolae Mihai, RCP Central Committee foreign relations section deputy chief; Constantin Oancea, deputy minister for foreign affairs; and Gheorghe Caranfil extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the SSR to the GDR.

Two Leaders Praise Deepening Ties

LD1711132888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1229 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin, (ADN) Erich Honecker general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the SR of Romania, had a first exchange of views this morning in the Central Committee building. During the friendly meeting in Erich Honecker's office the two politicians noted that bilateral relations have further deepened since their last meeting. The treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance, dating from 1972, is a solid basis for the continuous development of all-round cooperation. It is necessasry to further develop this treaty. The working meeting currently taking place aims to serve this end. Erich Honecker and Nicolae Ceausescu began their official talks in the course of the morning. Leading personalities from both countries are taking part in the talks, which will continue in the afternoon.

Honecker Presents Award

LD1711131488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1200 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today presented the Karl Marx Order to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania on his 70th birthday. Erich Honecker paid tribute to his guest's contribution to consolidating and further developing friendly cooperation between both parties, states, and peoples. In his words of thanks, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed collaboration for peace and socialism.

Mission in FRG Denies Hindering Journalists

LD1711150888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1258 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Bonn, (ADN)—The GDR Permanent Mission to the FRG today protested at false assertions by the Federal Government the GDR is hindering the work of FRG journalists.

A document from the Federal Government's Press and Information Office contains such assertions, which was published on Tuesday [15 November] in the "FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU'.

The GDR Permanent Mission told the Press and Information Office that journalists from the FRG, in any case 2,000 annually, are granted generous possibilities to work if they adhere to the GDR's legal order. The GDR starts from the basic principle formulated in the communique on the official visit to the FRG by Erich Honecher, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, that comprehensive, objective information via press, radio, and television has great significance for the further development of goodneighborly relations.

USSR Trade Agreement 'of Great Significance'

LD1611205588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1219 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A significant contribution was made to fulfilling the agreements in principle between the highest representatives of the GDR and the USSR and to existing long-term agreements by the now signed trade agreement for 1989, Gerhard Schuerer, chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission and Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations, said at a meeting in Berlin today.

Starting from the working meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in September both parties stressed the significance of the constant deepening and development of mutually advantageous cooperation on the economy, science, and technology. They paid tribute to the good state of these relations on the basis of more than 200 interstate agreements and accords.

The mutual deliveries established in the annual protocol are of great significance for the national economic development of both countries. In coordinating the national economic plans for the period from 1991 to 1995, it is a matter of further deepening specialization and cooperation; perfecting the trade structure and the technical level and quality of mutual deliveries; and further extending direct relations between combines, production associations, factories, and organizations in both countries.

USSR's Katushev Comments

LD1611210388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1313 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Intensification is the main development path for the economies of the USSR and the GDR, Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations, stated to ADN today at the end of his 2-day stay in the GDR. During this visit the annual protocol for 1989 was signed, in which the multifarious tasks for cooperation and trade are established. Konstantin Katushev assessed mutual deliveries as a significant contribution to the development and modernization of the GDR's energy sector and the USSR's light industrial sector.

At the moment 170 pairs of factories in the GDR and the USSR maintain contractual relations. This cooperation not only encompasses production units in the USSR and the GDR but also scientific and construction collectives. As Konstantin Katushev explained, they are solving over 400 projects in fulfilling the comprehensive program of scientific and technical cooperation. Machines and equipment will be produced through this that will correspond to mutual requirements, which are of mutual interest, and which in many cases are already a part of the 1989 protocol.

SED Secret Document on Church Ties Published

AU1511204188 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Nov 88 p 7

["Text" of statement read by Werner Jarowinsky, SED Central Committee Politburo member, at a meeting with Bishop Werner Leich, chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, in Berlin on 19 February 1988; the written statement was made available only to the first secretaries of the SED Bezirk and Kreis leaderships]

[Text] For a specific reason, it obviously has become necessary and certainly is good and useful for us to define again and corroborate our common responsibility.

Recently, the number of occurrences and events in the sphere of evangelical churches has increased, which cannot be left unchallenged and in some cases exceed the limit of what can be tolerated. These events must be taken very seriously. They are in direct contrast with the form and understanding of togetherness which has proved its worth for a long time, respect for what is due the state, the parties, and the social organizations, and respect for the church's constitutional tasks and duties. It must be clear that in the church, too, there cannot be any zones exempt from law. We must take very seriously such occurrences as the provocations on the fringes of the Rosa Luxemburg demonstration, and the obstructionist and virulent campaigns against the GDR, that are connected with the Church of Zion and the subsequent series of events in some Berlin churches.

There also is a tendency toward violating and disregarding socialist legislation and public order, including the obvious misuse of church facilities. In addition, what happened in recent days in the scope and on the fringes of the opening of the Dresden Synod must enhance our concerns even more and shows that these are not isolated occurrences and not isolated blunders. It is more than that.

Being worried about recent events, we consider it necessary to make a frank statement at the proper time, so as to counter an extremely objectionable undesirable development. These are occurrences which benefit nobody, which on the contrary can jeopardize what we all have achieved.

It must be emphatically stressed that we do not want relations to harden, nor do we in the future want a breach in developments which are good on the whole. Fully in line with the interests, concerns, and activities of the citizens of Christian faith, the principle of equal rights and equal respect for all citizens applies, which is laid down in the SED program and the GDR Constitution.

There is every reason to believe that the position on principle, which was worked out during the significant meeting between Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman and SED Central Committee general secretary, and leading representatives of Evangelical churches in the GDR, has proved to be a reliable basis of cooperation, will remain valid, and will continue to determine our action.

Precisely now it is important for the realistic forces in the church directorates and at the church grassroots, which are connected with the GDR, not to change their mind about this 6 March 1978. Much has happened in state-church relations following the important meeting between our chief of state and the Presidium of the Conference of Evangelical Church Directorates, the results of which have been assessed highly by the churches and the believers in our country.

It is no exaggeration to state that the expectations have been surpassed. As the entire development has shown, they were no short-term facts subject to cyclical change. The meeting was the basis of a far-reaching policy of togetherness, oriented towards the future.

Religious life and church activities were developing well. That is a significant common achievement to which such personages as bishops Dr Albrecht Schoenherr, Dr Werner Krusche, and Johannes Hempel, and in particular Bishop Leich made their own contributions. When was there ever a similarly accommodating attitude at church mass rallies, including the church congress in Berlin in 1987? When were there ever as many international meetings of the church and of ecumenical bodies in the GDR as at that time? All that was not only clearly noticed by our own society, but also by the international public. The principles agreed upon during the meeting on 6 March 1978 have proved to be useful, necessary, and correct, and are the basis for predictability, mutual trust, as well as a generally constructive togetherness and a strong basis for regulating church-state relations.

The church above all has benefited from this, including the development of church officials' travelling activities, the construction of church facilities, the support of charitable services which have been given new opportunities and have met with broader recognition. Church publishing, the areas of religious literature and church publications have been considerably developed.

The favorable balance also includes the development of church-owned agriculture and forestry, as well as major social services also in the church area.

What has generally been done in our republic in the course of more than a decade for the youth, the church, and the social interests of all, is thoroughly in accordance with the principles of Christian ethics.

Here, too, the statement Erich Honecker made in his speech last Friday (12 February 1988) holds true: We do not have to hide our light under a bushel, we can point out our achievements without concealing the fact that even larger tasks must be tackled, and much in everyday life and in social relations must be put in order. In fact, summing up all that has been done in recent years, we must say that very much has been achieved. It is a noteworthy process which in our view must be continued, and for which there is no reasonable alternative.

Observance of Law and Order

A prerequisite for this development has always been the observance of the principles laid down in our Constitution, the strict and conscientious adherence to our law and order, the observance of the GDR's legal system, the assumption of full responsibility for all that is going on in church buildings, and not lastly and above all, the strict observance of the principle of the separation of state and church. That is and remains the basic principle of our church policy. Give the church what is due the church, and give the state what is due the state.

Just as we guarantee religious freedom and do not interfere in the church's religious affairs, the church cannot and must not fulfill state functions or interfere in state affairs. The idea and concept of the church as a state within the state, or of a church against the state are in contrast with the Constitution and the tested and well-tried practice of many years of productive work. Whoever is trying to introduce problems into the church's activities, which have nothing to do with the church, interferes with the good church-state relations, acts against the believers' interests, and undermines his own grass-roots.

An elementary prerequisite for the overall development, which on the whole is favorable, is the definition of the Evangelical Church's position in our republic and in our society as a church that is not opposed to or exists besides socialism, but as a church that exists in socialism. This well-tried basis has recently been increasingly undermined and violated. What worries us particularly in this respect is the open and increasing misuse of certain church facilities for purposes and tasks that have nothing to do with the church or with worship, but on the contrary, affect and even jeopardize the believers' right of freedom of worship. We notice worldwide that the more church circles advocate the support of peace policy, dialogue, and understanding internationally, the more opposition of certain reactionary forces is growing. We do not fail to see certain tendencies to bring some influence to bear on the GDR, and to interfere with the favorable overall development.

Today we are facing a historically unique situation. We are facing the opportunity of disarmament being turned into irreversible reality. It is hardly possible to appreciate what that would mean for mankind. If we succeed here in Europe, on the territory of the two German states, to push the emerging favorable development, this would open up new prospects for the peoples' life, for the social sphere, and for the churches in the Third World. It is still impossible to see what will become possible if this great work can be done. It is the demand of our time.

According to all available information about the opening of the Dresden Synod, different priorities were set there, and the urgent problems of life were removed from the agenda, and that at a time when halving the weapons systems that are most dangerous to mankind—intercontinental nuclear weapons—is in the offing. Common responsibility for these vital issues was pushed into the background through an inflation of problems which can only lead to confrontation. We have to assess it this way. We cannot fail to see that there are certain forces who do not like the entire line of a "church in socialism," the integration of Christian citizens and church institutions in society. They want to revive the concept of the church as political opposition to socialism, which failed long

ago, and of the church as a "Trojan horse." It is a strange thought not to remember, in these very days and at this very time, the Dresden parishioners who out of deep concern turned to our head of state and expressed their fears of the forthcoming deployment of new missile systems. Should the thought be suppressed that it was our state's highest representative who made the first statement, responded in clear terms on behalf of all of us, and made the historic statement: "Now more than ever before! The devilish stuff must go!"? Leading church officials expressly welcomed this and stated their approval.

At a time when nuclear missiles are being eliminated and scrapped for the first time, attention at the Dresden Synod should apparently be shifted to numerous minor issues that have nothing to do with the tasks of the church. It makes us wonder that the big disarmament issues are practically pushed to the background or made to appear small, that a dozen working groups are discussing matters that lie exclusively within the responsibility of the state, parties, or social organizations, that massive statements are being issued which are printed and distorted by the Western media. How is one to interpret the fact that whereas former NATO politicians and military experts call for the modernization of nuclear weapons and other types of weapons, the impression is given in Dresden that the GDR is trying to eliminate military toys?

Intolerable and Dangerous Burden

The large-scale production of a new generation of particularly horrible chemical weapons, so-called binary weapons, was started in the United States last week, without the slightest protest coming from the circle of the ecumenical congregation in Dresden. It is a matter of principle for the GDR to vigorously use all its weight and authority to maintain military balance and reduce it to a lower level. This is our policy.

The events that have drawn justified criticism include incidents in some Berlin churches that have developed into an intolerable and dangerous burden. Churches are organizing purely political agitprop events, and antistate slogans and calls for riots and confrontation are being tolerated there. Are the church representatives, the majority of believers, and the public not right when they anxiously ask whether this should be accepted much longer and when they demand that now an end must finally be put to using churches as meeting places for the opposition? The limit of what can be tolerated has been surpassed, the opposition groups have gone too far.

We cannot allow things to continue like this. In a number of cases, events are organized without the knowledge of the allegedly competent municipal church councilors under pressure from the outside and from above over which the "well-meaning" initiators no longer have control in the end. These are indeed signs of a disintegration of church structures, of the church order, which, according to the wishes of people acting in the background, should apparently be replaced by different structures. If even church representatives openly admit that real substructures are forming, that there is discernible logistic control from outside and corresponding cooperation, this must be an occasion for reflection, for a reversal, for a necessary clarification, and for a change on the part of the responsible bodies. Attempts are being made to turn the churches into tribunals, lawyers' offices, or prosecutors' offices. At official offices, people answer the phone saying "contact office," "solidarity office," or "coordination center."

What is going on here is dangerous playing with fire. Distorted images are being imparted, and new hostile images are being created. This applies to the known events around the Church of Zions, the events that took place on the sidelines of the Luxemburg - Liebknecht demonstration and on the occasion of the anniversary of the Dresden inferno. The anniversary of the Republic on 7 October has now been announced as the next great occasion for the continuation of the Dresden events. It is time now to see to it and to ensure that the church deals with church affairs everywhere.

Public opinion on these issues has recently been expressed in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND where several readers' letters were published. We left it at that. So far, not everything has been made public, but there was dismay, lack of understanding, anger, and questions as to the attitude of some leading church representatives in our country. Is it not time that the church leaderships speak up in the interest and on behalf of millions of industrious Christians, that they speak on behalf of the "majority" of the Christians, who see their religious needs fulfilled by thousands of churches in our country, and who do not want to hear propaganda under the roofs of the churches that is directed against the state?

Is it not time that they all return to reflection and reason, act soberly and with a sense of reality, create trust, concentrate again on things that they have in common, and do not thoughtlessly risk the things they have achieved? Thus, the way in which the relationship between state and church will develop in the next decade, on the basis of the experiences of the past decade, greatly depends on the church itself. The way in which we sympathetically cooperate on vital questions and combine our efforts is of decisive importance to the positive shaping, the further development and perfection of socialism in the GDR, the joint work of all our people, and the activities of Marxists and Christians. Immediately before the 10th anniversary of 6 March 1979, it is our firm intention, our supreme will, to do everything that is up to us, in order to consistently continue this course of fruitful activities and of putting the joint achievements to the test. Our country's supreme representative affirmed this in his fundamental speech on 12 February.

"Every citizen, irrespective of his social origin, independently of his ideology and religion, has every opportunity to do good work and is given wide space for democratic participation in our joint cause. This will continue in the future."

What I have stated to you, Mr Bishop, is a joint point of view, and I am certain that you understand correctly the openness of this statement and also its confidential character. It is and remains our tested policy that trust, readiness for communication, and reliability promote fruitful coexistence. We want to continue our joint work as far as it lies in our power. There will be no lack of goodwill on our part.

SED Secretariat on Arnstadt Kreis Report

AU0211125288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Oct 88 p 3-4

["Statement by the SED Central Committee Secretariat on the Report of the Arnstadt SED Kreis Leadership"]

[Text] The results achieved to date in the party elections of the Arnstadt Kreis party organization convincingly demonstrate the increased political maturity, militant strength, and closeness to the masses of the basic organizations. With clear militant positions, the comrades profess their willingness to use their strength, their knowledge, and their experiences to further implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the tasks set in the speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, before the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships.

The party elections conclusively prove that, in a unified and cohesive way, the SED is creatively mastering the higher demands, that it is up-to-date, and successfully implements its leading role in the political leadership of the socialist society. The accountability election meetings impressively reflect the fact that the party serves the people and that the socialist society in the GDR is shaped in line with the principle "Everything with the people, everything for the people, and everything by the people."

They demonstrate the political farsightedness, the progressive spirit, and the militant, optimistic, and constructive atmosphere in the party collectives.

Its experiences confirm that the further shaping of the developed socialist society is a historic process of profound political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes.

Well-equipped for Mastering the Increasing Tasks

The party elections in the Arnstadt Kreis party organization have yielded valuable experiences of party work, which have to be applied even better in the work of all leaderships with regard to preparing the local elections and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR:

—The accountability election meetings confirm that the SED members and candidate members—unified and cohesive in the firm trust in the SED Central Committee—are well-equipped and ready for mastering the increasing demands on shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. This militant position was achieved through higher quality political education and party-minded training in the basic organization, the broader development of democracy within the party, the development of collectivity, and specific observance of personal responsibility.

—The experience was emphatically confirmed that success in the complicated leadership of social processes in one's sphere of responsibility requires steady, constructive, intellectual processing of the party decisions, a thorough analysis of the situation, solid conceptual work, democratic discussion of the tasks, the uniform implementation of the decisions, and effective control.

—It is decisive for the national economic growth that the enterprises and cooperatives have clear-cut lines of development in the implementation of the party's economic strategy. This enabled the comrades in the party elections to critically assess the achievements and to more specifically determine the requirements for higher quality work of the leaderships of the party, the economy, and the mass organizations. These solid preconditions should be used even more effectively to tap one's own reserves and to realize higher militant goals.

The SED Central Committee Secretariat recommends to the Arnstadt Kreis leadership to concentrate its work in carrying out the party elections and in preparing the kreis delegates' conference on the following central issues:

1. The varied ideas, goals, and initiatives developed during the party elections for the further implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress should be evaluated thoroughly and be made effective through a complex decision on the development of a comprehensive popular movement for the preparation of the local elections and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

To Answer Questions in Political Work that Concern the People

At the kreis delegates' conference it is to be discussed and decided how political work among the masses can be organized even more effectively in line with the tasks resulting from Comrade Erich Honecker's speech before the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships. It is particularly necessary to develop more strongly the citizens' socialist awareness and to mobilize them to higher achievements for the overall strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace.

The further implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress makes it necessary to involve the basic questions of domestic and foreign policy more actively in the political discussion. In principle, this approach to political work has to be closely connected with answering and solving the daily questions that affect the people.

The point is to show convincingly that socialism is the greatest achievement of mankind to date.

The theses on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the KPD should serve to strengthen the conviction of the triumph and historical superiority of the socialist social order, and to explain the character of our epoch. The dialectical relationship between class struggle and the policy of dialogue in the struggle to safeguard peace has to be more thoroughly discussed.

By implementing our social strategy, we are fulfilling our national responsibility toward the GDR's people. Thus, at the same time, the best contribution is being made to strengthening the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states and to their close cooperation.

Pride in the Achievements and Love for the Homeland—Important Motives for the Citizens' Actions

The kreis delegates' conference should assess political work especially carefully by means of our successful balance. It is important to explain the great values of socialism in the immediate experience of man in a more convincing, impressive, and conclusive way. Pride in the achievements, love for the homeland, and love for the socialist motherland have to be developed more deeply as important motives for the citizens' actions.

The various forms and methods of political mass work that have proved successful in Arnstadt Kreis, such as regular inhabitants' forums in all towns, municipalities, and housing districts, differentiated discussions with workers, talks in youth brigades and youth research collectives, monthly youth forums, and discussions with craftsmen, traders, and citizens of Christian faith have to be consistently continued with a greater effect in increasing people's awareness.

With an exact knowledge of the mood and concerns of the people, ideological work should be continued in such a concrete way that it corresponds even better to the respective situation and reaches everybody, and that there is no political silence anywhere. All attacks on the party's leading role and the firm relationship of trust between the party and the people by the opponents are to be countered without compromise.

The kreis delegates' conference has to define concrete measures so that all comrades activate all social forces for political talks with the citizens through their responsible activities in the trade unions, the FDJ, the other mass organizations, the people's representative bodies, and in their commissions. In close connection with this, the justifiable problems of the people in the spheres of life and work have to be solved together with them in a responsible way.

Considerably greater attention has to be paid by all party members to the development of a continuous, trusting political discussion with all the young people of the kreis and to strengthening the socialist youth association by ideology and cadre work.

Clear Positions Taken To Implement the Economic Strategy

2. The militant position which was clearly formulated in all election meetings of the Arnstadt Kreis party organization, that is, to make a greater individual contribution to implementing the economic party strategy, is a characteristic expression of the SED's increased leading position.

The demanding objective to make the qualitative economic growth factors more effective is characteristic. It shows that the comrades, firmly convinced that the economic strategies are right, take clear political positions for the higher standards of increasing economic performance and are guided by the close connection between domestic and foreign policy in international relations.

It is important to consolidate this starting point, which is determined by the comrades' great political responsibility in all enterprises, cooperatives, and facilities, by the kreis delegates' conference and the forthcoming members' assemblies to make decisions on the 1989 militant programs.

The primary task is to accelerate the increase of labor productivity through the broad application of key technologies, the comprehensive realization of the investment projects according to schedule and to achieve more profitable top-level performances within the national economy. In connection with this, the required ideological, material, and regional preconditions for the realization are to be created by the leadership so that the militant targets will be achieved.

The party elections have confirmed that the SED members and candidate members, together with their work collectives, are struggling to the very last day of the year to fulfill the 1988 plan tasks and to fulfill all additional pledges.

Aware of their responsibility, the comrades are trying to solve all problems that are within their sphere of responsibility through the strength of the working people, to make up for shortfalls, which occurred for example in the VEB "Ernst Thaelmann" Communications Electronics in the sphere of exports and in the LPG Alkersleben

(livestock production) in the field of milk production. They are also looking for ways how to overcome deficiencies and shortcomings by the resources that are available.

Central Task: Making More Efficient Use of Existing Potentials

In meeting the growing demands regarding the implementation of our economic and social policy, the kreis conference delegates must direct the basic organizations' efforts to an increasing extent toward the more efficient use of the existing intellectual and material potentials. Slogans like "Course GDR 40—We keep our word" that have been adopted by the Arnstadt Kreis, and attitudes represented by the "Our good work—Source of our wealth" drive have a great mobilizing effect. The kreis delegates conference will also include an exchange of experiences on the general application of such exemplary initiatives as the one launched by the VEB Chemical Plant Construction in Erfurt-Rudisleben to achieve an above-average increase in their own in-house production of rationalization means and by the Boesleben LPG (plant production) in the development of vegetable production.

On the basis of the results that have been achieved in the 1988 plan fulfillment and the plan discussion for 1989, as well as on the basis of the experiences that have been gained regarding political leadership during this phase of the struggle, the kreis delegates conference should direct the attention of the comrades to an even better utilization of all reserves for the purposeful overfulfillment of the 1989 plan and a more rapid increase of the yields and achievements in agriculture.

Contribution to the National Income Is Decisive

The basic organizations' work in agriculture should focus on measures to secure higher yields in 1989 and to achieve a livestock production that corresponds to the plan while keeping the livestock stable and ensuring an economical use of the fodder. The experiences of the cooperative peasants and workers as well as an even closer link between science and production by means of socialist enterprise economy are important foundations.

The increase of the manufacture of products that are in line with the requirements of the national economy, of high-quality consumer goods that are desired by the population and that enhance our country's export strength should assume a central role in the deliberations. What is ultimately decisive is the enterprises' higher contribution to the national income, which must result in increased profits, higher net production, lower production expenditure, and a higher quality of the products.

In this context, it is important to consistently tackle the task of improving the working and living conditions as a steady challenge for the development of the performance in one's own sphere of responsibility.

Relations between the party collectives and the leaders that are based on trust and firm principles, an exact description of the spheres of responsibility, as well as good cooperation, a businesslike and persistent attitude, a constructive discussion, and the accountability reports are indispensable for a good working atmosphere, for creating trust in the leaders among the working people, for establishing the authority of the leaders and ensuring their recognition as representatives of the leading class.

3. On the basis of the strength that has received a boost from the party elections, the kreis delegates have the task to launch an exemplary mass initiative in preparation for the local elections and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, aimed at promoting the development of the performance of the national economy and the development of towns and villages.

Trusting Cooperation With Friendly Parties and Mass Organizations

All efforts are to be directed toward preparing the local elections as a powerful demonstration of the loyalty of the people of the GDR to the policy of the SED and its socialist state. In accordance with the SED's tested policy of alliance, the trusting cooperation among the friendly parties and mass organizations must be intensified in order to further increase their independent contributions to implementing the main task.

In the basic organizations, every comrade should be informed about his responsibility within the community, within the party aktiv of the residential area, in the National Front committee, and as an agitator and aide during the elections. In this way, all committees, aktivs, and working groups should achieve the greatest possible efficiency.

Long-term coordinated development concepts that are oriented toward exemplary values in the GDR have proven to be reliable instruments in the continuous development of decisive regional areas. The good results and experiences gained from efficient local-policy and intellectual-cultural work in Arnstadt Kreis should be applied in a way that they yield even more tangible results for the population. This includes the implementation of regional investment projects and long-term concepts for the shaping of villages, the work of the centers for placing orders within the regional housing administration, the gradual fulfillment of local-policy requirements in all villages, a broad initiative aimed at solving the housing problem, as well as the consistent promotion of private handicrafts and trade.

Outstanding experiences gained in the work with the citizens, such as the active work of all deputies in deputies' groups, the creation of small spheres of responsibilities for the people's representatives, the creation of a larger number of constituencies, and the intensive work in all parts of the villages are to be used to the full extent in political dialogue with the citizens.

The kreis delegates conference must provide specific guidelines for the party collectives and comrades in the state organs and bodies that are responsible for economic management so that the work of the competent leaderships will be concentrated on the purposeful improvement of services and repairs for the population, of commuter traffic and trade culture while using all regional possibilities.

4. In Arnstadt Kreis, the party elections have again reaffirmed the basic organizations' creative and mobilizing role in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. This emphasizes the importance of the kreis leadership's task to steadily increase the level of instructions and support for the basic organizations.

Key to Activity, Discipline, Exemplary Work

In preparation for the kreis delegates conference, the kreis leadership should take experiences that have been made so far into consideration and work out far-reaching strategies how the party collectives, through differentiated instructions and information that correspond to the current situation, can be even better enabled to vigorously act in every political situation and to use convincing arguments. In this context, the kreis leadership should pay more attention to strengthening the role of the party groups as political centers of the work collectives.

The party elections have taught us that life within the party, the meetings of the members in particular, must take into consideration to a greater extent the increased tasks and the growing cultural demands of the comrades. The party meetings in particular have to be used in a more consistent manner to raise the level of ideological strength and of the development of the personality of every individual by constructively discussing all party matters that affect the current situation and through the active involvement of all comrades in the implementation of the targets by assigning party tasks to them, through accountability reports, and control.

The party elections have demonstrated that it is important to further expand the many and varied forms and methods of voluntary party work and of the individual work with party members and candidate members in order to use their ideas and abilities and their proposals and suggestions for improving party work and the work among the masses in an even more efficient manner. Ultimately, this is the key to activity, conscious discipline and exemplary work among party members.

The kreis delegates conference should be a forum for an exchange of experiences on the forms and methods to be applied in party life and in the basic and advanced training of the cadres in order to efficiently increase the basic organizations' fighting strength and to improve the work style in connection with the masses, and on the way the methods are to be applied in all basic organizations.

Kessler Honors NVA, Border Troop Units

AU0211125188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29-30 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Army General Heinz Kessler, SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, awarded collectives of the NVA [National People's Army] and the GDR Border Troops the title "Best Unit" for exemplary performance in the 1987-88 training year.

These titles will be pronounced in roll-calls of, among others, the units "Soja Kosmodemjanskaja," "Robert Uhrig," and "Friedrich Wolf" of the Ground Forces; "Fritz Schmenkel" and "Heinrich Rau" of the Air Force-Air Defense; the Elkan and Neubauer brigades of the People's Navy; the "Friedrich Engels," "Robert Siewert," and "Theodor Winter" regiments, and the "Walter Junker" and "Hans Kollwitz" Border Troop units.

The minister thanked the members of the honored collectives for their performance for the comprehensive strengthening of the Republic and for ensuring peace. He expressed his conviction that in view of the GDR's 40th anniversary, they will honorably fulfill the class mandate given by the 11th SED Congress also in the next training year.

Grosz Wraps Up Official Visit to Madrid

Press Conference With Gonzalez

LD1711050788 Budapest MTI in English 2029 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Madrid, November 16 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz stressed his commitment to the reform policy at a joint press conference with Felipe Gonzalez on Wednesday in Madrid. The Spanish prime minister confirmed he would shortly be traveling to Hungary, accompanied by businessmen. Speaking about his talks with Mr Grosz, Mr Gonzalez said their analytical exchanges of views had been particularly good, and he voiced his hope for the earliest possible boosting of relations.

Mr Gonzalez said that Spain considered it an extremely positive factor for Hungary to be playing a key role today in shaping the development of international relations. The agreement signed between the Common Market and Hungary was a symbolic example of this, he added.

In reply to a question by the correspondent of the daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP," Mr Gonzalez said that the agreement between Hungary and the Common Market aims to increase cooperation. He said the Spanish side should guarantee reliable economic cooperation by utilizing the opportunities offered by the Hungarian opening. The Hungarian economy offers good possibilities for investments. This should be enforced both in bilateral relations and within the EEC.

MTI's correspondent asked for an interpretation of the situation that will come about following the Single European Act, which comes into force in 1992. Mr Gonzalez said that this would in no way mean discrimination on the part of the Common Market towards non-members.

MTI's correspondent also wanted to know whether we could now expect the elimination of discriminative measures by the Spanish side towards Hungarian goods. Mr Gonzalez replied that Spain, guided by political considerations, had made the greatest efforts of the 12 member countries of the EEC to conclude the agreement with Hungary. Spain was now working dramatically to reduce tariffs in trade carried out with the countries that sign agreements with the EEC.

In his brief introductory statement, Karoly Grosz said that new kinds of interest relations are coming into existence in the world. The interdependence of the European states is increasing, and neither part of Europe can have a stake in the failure of the other. 'We should strengthen cooperation and the processes of integration, instead of increasing the distances,' he said, and added, 'it is, at the same time, in our national interest to intensify economic, social and political contacts.'

The present discussions had already yielded concrete results, Mr Grosz stressed. He informed journalists about an agreement signed on Wednesday morning. 'We are jointly working on the preparation of an investment protection agreement. We should like to join in the major Spanish ventures which can count on the interest of the entire world in 1992', said Mr Grosz, referring to the Barcelona Olympics and the World Expo in Seville.

Mr Grosz then answered questions. He was first asked about the situation of the Hungarian trade unions. The Hungarian prime minister said that diversity characterizes the Hungarian trade union movement today, as the conflicts of interests are also diverse in this period of dynamic reform. It is thus quite usual for tensions to sharpen between the trade unions and the government, the employers. It is through such tensions and debates that the most favourable decisions can be reached.

Answering a question about relations with the EEC, Mr Grosz said that, after signing the agreement with the EEC, the Hungarian Government had expressed its gratitude in a letter to the Spanish Government for the support which Hungary had received from Spain in reaching the agreement. Hungary looked with hope, and without anxiety, to the future of cooperation, he said. It was clear that such a major, single market would pose new demands for the Hungarian economy, but the exaction would serve as a propelling force for increasing a country's economic performance. One of the reasons for Hungary's current economic difficulties was that it had traded for too long on a market which was not strict enough, he said.

Replying to a question on the talks held with the leaders of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) the party general secretary-prime minister said that the views of both sides were identical in almost all issues related to the international situation, they were of the opinion that greater efforts should be made at inter-party level to intensify the detente process. They also agreed that the international climate is developing favourably, that the spreading of the Soviet-American dialogue carries with it major opportunities, and that the result of the American presidential elections gives rise for hope. There was no difference in views with respect to human rights, and the sides also agreed that both countries and both parties are interested in the most successful and earliest possible conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting. They are likewise interested in launching genuine talks in reducing conventional weapons. Mr Grosz announced that leaders of the PSOE had confirmed they had accepted an invitation to Hungary.

With respect to a question on the law on business associations, Mr Grosz noted that the law does not regulate political conditions, but aims at extending the scope of action of capital and manpower, and at involving foreign and private capital in the various developments and projects. The issue of the multiparty system should be set down in the new constitution currently

under preparation. This work has begun, he said, the proposal for the constitution will be completed in 1990, and it will then be open to social debate.

Mr Grosz also said that reform efforts cannot be enforced without conflicts in outlook and society. 'Over the past four decades, many values have come into being, but many practices believed to be valuable, but which were unsuccessful, also became ossified. By intending to change this, we violate interests, to say nothing of the fact that we also have to reexamine many of our theoretical theses', he said, and added, 'it should be considered natural that people are not able to change pace as fast as would be required by the political recognition of the leadership. All political leaderships also have to reckon with the fact that launching a reform movement of this kind can elicit condemnation not only from home, but also from abroad, but this has to be accepted.'

Mr Grosz was asked about the reasons why Hungarian-Romanian relations had become more tense. He replied, 'Certain social and political tensions do exist between us which cause problems. The two peoples have lived alongside one another for centuries, and will stay next to one another in the future. The borders, which came into existence following the Second World War, are final for us. It follows from this that we do not place emphasis on the tensions, but rather on cooperation and friendship. We should, however, be aware that people who have no interest in cooperation also live there. The Hungarian Government, however, will not allow itself to be provoked. Keeping European security and the interests of the two peoples in view, in my opinion, it justly expects its Romanian partners to cooperate in reducing the tensions', said the Hungarian prime minister in conclusion.

During the day, Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs and Inocencio Felix Arias, Spanish state secretary for Foreign Affairs, signed an agreement regulating health relations between the two countries. They also exchanged the ratification documents of the contract on the reciprocal relinquishing of implementing court resolutions passed in criminal cases. They voiced their intention to hold talks on diplomatic visa exemptions, and the reciprocal recognition of school certificates and university degrees.

Following the press conference, Karoly Grosz visited the Spanish congress of Deputies of the Cortes, where he was informed about MPS' work by President Felix Pons.

On Wednesday, King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia hosted a lunch in Mr Grosz's honour.

In the afternoon, Mr Grosz met with representatives of the parliamentary opposition. He first held talks with Antonio Hernandez Mancha, president of the right-wing Alianza Popular. Afterwards, the HSWP general secretary received at his residence Julio Anguita, general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, and the latest steps taken in the interest of restoring the unity of the communist movement.

Mr Grosz met with members of the Hungarian colony in Madrid on Wednesday evening in the Hungarian embassy.

Wednesday's programme ended with a dinner hosted for Mr Grosz by the Federation of Spanish Private Banks.

Grosz Leaves Madrid for Paris

LD1711074788 Budapest MTI in English 0734 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Madrid, November 17 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, left Madrid by a special plane in early Thursday morning. During the day he is starting an official visit to Paris.

The Madrid programme of Mr Grosz ended with a gala dinner given by the Spanish Confederation of Private Banks Wednesday night.

UN Ambassador Interviewed on Diplomatic Activity

AU1511105288 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Nov 88 p 2

[Interview with Ferenc Somogyi, head of a main department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Hungarian ambassador at the United Nations, by Gyorgy V. Nonn: "The Reason Romania's Name Was Not Mentioned—Processes Under Way in the United Nations Are Favorable for Us"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The 43d UN General Assembly session is more than half over, and this is a good opportunity to make a quick analysis of events so far. What plans did the Hungarian delegation's diplomatic luggage contain, and which of these concepts seem to have become reality? We asked Ambassador Ferenc Somogyi who returned home from New York recently. [passage omitted]

[Nonn] What were the basic tasks of the Hungarian delegation?

[Somogyi] To put it briefly, our main goal was to firmly represent Hungarian interests in all the issues that affect and interest us and to contribute to advance international cooperation and increase the role and prestige of the United Nations. This in itself is not a new task. However, the recognition of the fact that we can solve our domestic social and economic problems only within the framework of international cooperation and by being integrated in this system of international relations has

made this task topical again. The fact that our position on several issues has further developed and become more firm is also connected with our domestic changes. [passage omitted]

[Nonn] You have twice addressed the committee dealing with human rights and social and humanitarian issues. You spoke about the violation of national minority rights, just as our foreign minister did in his speech, and then you criticized a concrete Romanian proposal, without mentioning Romania by name. Were the representatives of distant countries aware of what we were speaking about?

[Somogyi] Yes. No doubt, all the delegates who were aware of this issue understood our speeches. Of course, we are aware of the fact that we cannot expect the United Nations to solve Hungarian-Romanian bilateral problems. Therefore, we did not bring the problems directly to this world forum, but we drew the attention of the international community to the roots and causes of this conflict and to the violation of generally valid international obligations and norms. [passage omitted]

[Nonn] What support did we get in the debate and were there any concrete results for our position?

[Somogy] In the official speeches delivered in this committee, very few delegations dealt with the subjects put forward by us, such as the protection of the individual and collective rights of national minorities. However, many delegations were extremely active—mainly behind the scenes—in criticizing the Romanian initiative to ban nationalist, chauvinistic, and racist demonstrations, to ban the encouragement of such demonstrations by other governments, to limit the activity of the mass media, and to educate young people in the spirit of international cooperation. All this criticism led to a situation in which, following repeated modifications, this large scale initiative completely lost its content and has now been reduced to a decision calling for the internationalist education of young people. [passage omitted]

[Nonn] The socialist countries have a coordinated position on most issues discussed at the United Nations. The initiative on questioning Israel's UN mandate has been the only essential issue so far in which the socialist delegations voted very differently. What was our position in this issue?

[Somogyi] [Passage omitted] Concerning the issue of the Israeli mandate, according to a practice developed over the course of many years, the delegations always vote on a concrete proposal to remove from the agenda the initiative questioning the validity of Israel's UN mandate. Unlike previous years, when the Hungarian delegation did not participate in this vote, this year we voted in favor of this proposal. A certain change in this direction was also noticeable in the attitude of some other socialist delegations, but there continue to be considerable differences on this issue. Our position derives primarily from our commitment to the universal nature of the United Nations, and complete agreement with the policy conducted by all member states is not a prerequisite for such a commitment. At the same time, our new position reflects the recent favorable trends in Hungarian-Israeli relations. It is also part of a complete picture that, in the years following 1956, the Israeli delegation consistently voted for the validity of the questioned Hungarian UN mandate.

Minister Queried on Draft Association Law

AU1611102888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Nov 88 p 5

[Interview with Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar by Laszlo Szabo: "When Society Interferes—Interview With Kalman Kulcsar on the Draft Laws on the Right to Assembly and Association"; date and place not given]

[Text] Two laws that are being prepared, laws that will regulate the right to assembly and association, will not only enable our citizens' autonomy to develop in an unprecedented way, but will also represent a change in the previous situation, in which there were a lot of associations having very little social and political motivation. However, the new regulations being prepared are almost entirely politically motivated. We spoke with Kalman Kulcsar about the two draft laws recently reshaped in a social debate. Kalman Kulcsar submitted the proposals to the government at its session held on 10 November.

[Szabo] On 10 November, you told a journalist that a wide-scale social debate had recreated and polished the two draft laws on the right to assembly and association. Are you satisfied with this debate, which has often used very strong critical formulations in dealing with individual aspects of the published draft laws?

[Kulcsar] The debate in question was interesting and, no doubt, useful. About 50,000 people participated in this debate, mainly intellectuals particularly interested in public life. However, one of the main features of this social debate was its variety, which occasionally took an extremist turn. For example, there were opinions expressed according to which there is no need for such laws, and even if there is need for them, we should wait for the new constitution. Others want to solve many other political problems that exist in our current situation by means of these laws, particularly the law on associations. Opinions were voiced which demanded the associations' right to submit proposals of public interest to the state bodies; these bodies would then be obliged to provide answers. Other opinions demanded the associations' right to nominate candidates to be National Assembly deputies, and the right to establish non-Marxist youth organizations, and so on. Indeed, this public exchange of views has become a tough debate, even if it was occasionally accompanied by legal formulations. This also means that the entire issue seemed to

concentrate almost entirely on political organizations, and the problems concerning nonpolitical associations remained in the background.

The tough, critical nature of this debate—which, in my view, is always better than lukewarm criticism—is closely related to the political tensions present in society, particularly among the active intellectuals who took a stand in the aforementioned debate. This has strongly shown the shortcomings in the text of the draft laws and the problems of how to interpret these texts. Events which reflected the particularities of our political style were instructive to me. I will mention now the example which I have already mentioned in my press conference on 10 November, that is—the formulation of the original draft bill according to which the state will recognize and ensure the right to assembly and association. The participants in the debate interpreted this as saying that the state considered these rights as "grants," and saw in some aspects of these rights the remnants of a still existing paternalistic behavior. I did not feel this from the beginning, because, according to the Hungarian language, one can recognize and ensure something that already exists; in this case, such basic citizen rights existed even before the state recognized them. However, the debate made it clear that this formulation means something else to the general public, and even to the professional public. Thus, the two laws should explicitly stipulate that these rights are basic human and citizen's rights. I think that analyzing this debate, particularly its circle of participants, would be a useful task for political sociologists. Obviously, people who feel affected by the issues being debated are those who will participate in a debate and have strong social opinions. Therefore, political situations determine the nature of a debate.

Regulations Concerning the Parties

[Szabo] I know that the two draft bills should pass through a few more legal instances before they become laws. What are the essential modifying proposals that were made during this social debate and which of these proposals were included in the new draft bill, and how?

[Kulcsar] I already mentioned at the press conference on 10 November that both draft bills were completely new. The so-called elastic paragraphs which were difficult to understand have been eliminated. Although these paragraphs originate from international agreements also ratified and signed by us, by accepting the criticism of the social debate, the new text clearly stipulates the limitations of assembly and association. An assembly or association cannot commit crimes or appeal to others to commit crimes, and cannot violate other people's rights or freedom. The demand that the law on associations should also regulate the establishment of political parties was quite strongly formulated during this debate. We accepted this demand and the law stipulates this. We also accepted the competence of the courts in registering social organizations, associations, organizations that represent interests, and other associations. Registration cannot be denied if this is done according to the law. We also analyzed the possibility of pressing court charges against decisions that violate the law. I also mention now our position according to which no executive regulations should accompany these draft bills.

Now in Principle, Later in Practice

[Szabo] Let us talk clearly about one of the most debated issues. You have mentioned before that, in the wake of the social debate, the possibility of establishing political parties has also been included in the draft bill on associations. What does the draft bill contain about this now? Does it take into consideration the rather widely formulated demand to express the process of political pluralism this way, too?

[Kulcsar] All right, let us make it clear by quoting the text of the draft bill. Article 1 of Paragraph 2 clearly states that, on the basis of the right to association, private persons can establish political parties among other things. Article 2 of Paragraph 4 stipulates that the Constitution governs the role played by a political party in our social system, and a separate law regulates the establishment, registration, inspection, and liquidation of a political party. It is clear that this text recognizes the possibility of organizing political parties, including the fact that, on the basis of the law on associations currently being prepared, these parties cannot be organized yet, or better said, they cannot be registered yet, and thus, they cannot be legalized yet.

[Szabo] Why?

[Kulcsar] In this respect, the law expresses the position of the political leadership, namely the concept according to which a multiparty system is acceptable in principle, but its practical implementation requires a transitional period. I will not speak about the duration of this transitional period and about the forms to be developed.

[Szabo] Is this forbidden?

[Kulcsar] This is not the point. This is clearly not my task. As to how it will be possible to implement in practice everything that this law makes possible in principle obviously depends on the political processes, the practice of self-organization, the nature of the processes, and on the political evaluation of these processes. I do not think there is a need for too much explanation when I say that transforming a one-party political system into a multiparty system requires a certain amount of time. We want to avoid a political destabilization which could lead to tragic consequences. It seems that the political forces currently emerging in the country do not want such a destabilization.

International experience also warns us that the "demolition" of an authoritative political system and its transformation into something else is an extremely sensitive process. The text of the draft bill is also very important

from the viewpoint that it signals the principled recognition of a multiparty system. The text refers to the constitution which will determine—on the basis of the evaluation of political processes—the role and function of the political party or parties in question, and the text also stipulates the formulation of a separate law for this. This separate law will contain regulations governing the possible differences in the recently formulated general regulations concerning these associations.

[Szabo] No matter how we interpret it, everything that you have just told us here indicates a delay in deciding upon very important issues. No matter how we look at it, we are witnessing the emergence of nationwide self-organizations which, one could say, are quasi-political parties, and they will probably want to become parties. In your personal view, could this not lead to a change in or restoration, of our social system by parliamentary means, that is—through the representation of opposing political parties?

[Kulcsar] First of all, one should ask about the meaning of a "change in our social system" in this context. Discarding the previous models of a socialist society and searching for new ways is obviously not a change in our social system. The MSZMP is also striving for this, and I think that you do not think so either [sentence as published]. As I see it, based on clearly declared intentions, we can also interpret the goals of major self-organizations today. However, as I have already mentioned, the new constitution will deal with the political organizations in general, and the acceptance of this constitution will be the condition for the establishment and operation of these organizations. According to the law also currently being prepared, only organizations that remain within the constitutional framework will be legal.

[Szabo] When registering themselves, these associations and federations will also have to stipulate their statute. Will these associations be able to deviate from this statute later, for example, from the part concerning their political nature?

[Kulcsar] The statute is the determining factor which, of course, can be changed in accordance with the legal regulations. Legal supervision guarantees the operation of an organization according to its statute, and as I have already mentioned, this supervision can finally lead to a court decision. Legal supervision is also a guarantee that, in the case of a change in statute, the new statute does not violate the law.

A Citizen Can Turn to the Court

[Szabo] Can we imagine, for example, the establishment of a Freemasons' society on the basis of the new law?

[Kulcsar] Yes, we can, but if the program and concept expressed in its statute violate the Constitution or the law, then, of course, such a society cannot be formed.

[Szabo] I think that it is an important citizen's right to make sure that grievances are legally remedied. Will there be adequate sanctions in case the authorities take an unjustified stand against an association?

[Kulcsar] Yes, there will be adequate sanctions for this. A citizen will be able to turn to the courts. More than that, anyone who forcibly or threateningly hinders anyone else in exercising his right to association or assembly is committing a crime and can be sentenced to as many as 3 years in prison.

[Szabo] We are talking a lot about the freedom to choose a political platform and about creating such a freedom. Many different views will, no doubt, confront each other in the newly established associations. Will people who are expelled from such associations because of their views be able to receive systematic legal assistance? Who will have the right to dissolve an association, if at all, and under what conditions?

[Kulcsar] We do not want this law to interfere in the internal affairs of these associations and other organizations governed by the law, particularly in the case of trade unions. This law is particularly restrained in certain aspects because it also has to reckon with international organizations. In this context, this law contains regulations only to the extent they are absolutely needed to guarantee legal and democratic activity. However, if a member of an association considers any internal decision to be illegal, he can turn to the courts. It is also possible to dissolve the association, but only the court has the authority to carry this out, and then only if there is a crime involved in exercising the right to association, or if the association in question encourages such crimes or violates others' rights and freedom.

The Organizer Is Responsible for Order

[Szabo] Let us also use examples from our historical experience. At the beginning of this century, the workers movement suffered greatly from the fact that it not only had to register every meeting with the police, but the police participated in these meetings and immediately closed the meeting when they heard something they did not like. How does the state make certain today that the various associations and assemblies operate according to the law, the statute of these associations, and according to the announced program?

[Kulcsar] According to the right to assembly, the previous announcement of the intention to assemble is not a request for permission. If, however, on a very rare occasion, and in cases precisely determined by the law, an event is forbidden, the organizers have to be informed within 24 hours, and they can ask for a revision of the decision by the court. The court must decide within 3 days.

It is primarily the responsibility of the organizers to ensure order at a meeting, namely to make sure that no one commits a crime or calls for such action. In case of disorder, the organizers must act and even take it upon themselves to adjourn the meeting. Of course, the police can also interfere if the organizers ask them to do so, if they fail to take the necessary action, or if they are unable to maintain legal order.

Szuros Speaks on Multiparty System

LD1711044188 Budapest MTI in English 2235 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—A meeting of communist activists from Vas County was held on Wednesday in Szombathely. The 1,200 participants heard a report by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, on current home and foreign policy issues.

In his introduction, Mr Szuros said that, when judging the current problems and tasks, one should start from a realistic evaluation of the situation. He noted that the problems of today had mainly accumulated in the past 15 years, and necessitate qualitative changes. The party laid down a guideline at the national conference in May to change the political and economic practice up until then. However, the heightened expectations were not satisfied by the steps and results to date.

Many people would like to distance themselves from the past, but the inheritance has to be accepted, stressed the secretary of the Central Committee. The party has to carry out a two-fronted fight today as well, to realize the guideline decided on at the national conference. The core of the party is firm. However, it is indispensable that the HSWP find itself again, and that it be a self-confident party.

Discussing relations between the party and the masses, Mr Szuros drew attention to the error that the party was not able to create a suitable relation with intellectuals. He noted that the pillars of national consensus should be created as soon as possible. One of the most important conditions for this is that the HSWP be a politicizing party, a factor of social self-organization, the basic pillar of market laws in economy, and of secure legal order and consensus in society. In a socialist society, not even a party that incidentally fulfils a leading role can place itself above the Constitution.

Mr Szuros noted that the demand for a multiparty system is being raised today, partly on the basis of problems originating from economic distortions, the so-called alternative organizations are being set up on the ground of genuine problems.

With respect to the possibility of a multiparty system, Mr Szuros noted that the issue will be decided not by the HSWP, but rather by social development. The party sees the road to the major political changes taking place in the country in pluralism that unfolds within the framework of a one-party system. We are participants in a historical moment, stressed the secretary of the Central Committee. 'We live in an age of reform when we can begin to catch up with the developed countries, as otherwise we shall fall behind forever. And in the interest of catching up, we have tasks not only of a socialist nature, but in the field of civilization, too.'

Discussing foreign political issues, the speaker stressed that the aim of contemporary Hungarian foreign policy is to strengthen the national character on the one hand, and a heightened opening on the other. This means that, starting from our own possibilities, we represent our national interests more prominently. At the same time, we wish to be present in all regions of the world, Mr Szuros said. He noted that it was on the basis of realities that we began to build relations with South Korea and Israel. With respect to the latter state, it was done in a way that none of our steps obstruct the preparation for a Middle East settlement conference.

Department Head Discusses Multiparty System

LD1411172188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 14 Nov 88

[From the "Morning Dialogue" program]

[Text] [Announcer] The guest on our program is Istvan Petrovszki, the head of a Central Committee department.

More and more circles, forums, associations, and autonomous societies are being founded all the time. Some of them are concerned with cultural matters or with the protection of the environment; the majority, however, are political. The Network of Free Initiatives, which held its general assembly yesterday, is of the second type. Our editorial office was represented by Peter Marvanyi.

[Marvanyi] Should the Network of Free Initiatives remain the coordinator of various alternative groups or should it turn itself into a political alliance with its own profile? There was a sharp debate on this question for about 3 and ½ hours yesterday at the general assembly held in the Jurta Theater. Then the majority decided in favor of the latter alternative. With that, the Network of Free Initiatives as such ceased to exist. Its original functions were taken over by the group which was in the minority in the vote and a new political organization came about: the Alliance of Free Democrats.

The speakers stressed that the change reflects the political changes in Hungary during the past few months. The political organization would permit more effective functioning and would provide an opportunity for the mobilization of a part of civilian society, for the protection of its interests, for cooperation with other organizations, and for a dialogue with the government.

According to their declaration of principles, the Alliance of Free Democrats regards itself as the successor to the liberal, bourgeois-radical, and social democratic ideas. The majority of the participants rejected the suggestion that the alliance should immediately turn itself into a party. However, the more than 1,000 members present considered this to be possible in the future.

In the declaration of principles, the new alliance demands genuine economic and political reforms in place of reform rhetoric. It wishes to fight for the rights of freedom, for the social rights of individuals, and for self- determination of communities.

[Announcer] Istvan Petrovszki, the new party line is that the party does not wish to interfere in local issues. Is it a contradiction though that, regarding the alternative groupings, many people nonetheless expect guidance from the center? Even we are uncertain whether on such an essential matter the local branches can adopt a separate stance.

[Petrovszki] At the May party conference, when the party decided to bring about a political system characterized by socialist pluralism—because this is one of the preconditions for economic resurgence—in fact, this decision involved also the fact that these alternative movements would come about after a while. However, this process has taken place more rapidly than we expected and thus it disturbed the party membership to some extent. It also disturbed wider public opinion. These are new phenomena and it is understandable that the party membership expects some sort of guidance from the center regarding what the party's relationship should be to these alternative movements. This is how it should be.

[Annnouncer] Is this a theoretical or an expressly practical question?

[Petrovszki] This is first and foremost a practical matter. After all, what is involved is that the initiatives by and organizations of citizens can have a good influence on the clashing of various views and on the expression of interests. However, all this should serve a single goal, namely that on the fundamental issue, that is, economic resurgence, the increase in our capacity to produce revenues, we should determine the way forward.

[Announcer] Before going on to this, let me say that nowadays we speak a great deal about the multiparty system, a topic on which we had to remain silent a few years ago. At the same time, very little is being said about the new national consensus, into which the party would like to bring the alternative movements.

[Petrovszki] I would add to this that, naturally, the possibility of a multiparty system is not rejected by the MSZMP. At this time, however, what is needed first and foremost is for the various alternative movements to form a coalition to serve the most fundamental issue of the nation's fate, economic resurgence, and should urge the required national solidarity to this end.

It is undoubtedly true that we are speaking less about the new national consensus and I think that we ought to speak more about it.

[Announcer] Is there a dialogue at all between the party and the alternative movements?

[Petrovskiy] Yes, of course. We are in touch in particular with those alternative movements where we see that they serve the socialist national consensus we have just spoken about. I think that once the alternative movements formulate their political programs in a clear-cut way, there will be more opportunities for us to engage in a dialogue.

[Announcer] Is the creation of a party coalition a realistic idea?

[Petrovskiy] I think that in the current situation this is the only alternative.

[Announcer] Let us return to the economy for a moment. There are two things here. One is that we expect foreign capital to come here. However, for this we would have to create much more favorable financial, legal, and political conditions than, let us say, there are in Turkey, Greece, or in other countries. Second, it is often said, and the leaders of the enterprise associations speak a great deal about this, that because of the financial difficulties, there is no real chance for the development of enterprises in Hungary.

[Petrovszkiy] It is unquestionably true that there is a need for a well worked out system of legal regulations and a much calmer political atmosphere.

[Announcer] Thank you very much.

Gdansk Party Declaration Says Nation 'Enslaved'
LD1711144688 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] [No dateline as received] ZYCIE WARSZAWY is publishing without comment a declaration of the Polish Party of Independence of the Gdansk region. It states that we have been enslaved by the Soviets for the last 44 years. Enough negotiations with the Reds, enough roundtables and agreements, it reads. It must be said openly that we shall never enter into any arrangements with it [not further identified] and we must prepare to create a legion to regain yet again a free and independent Poland. We shall get nothing for free from anyone. We are not afraid to sacrifice blood, reads the declaration.

Miodowicz Welcomes Debate With Walesa
LD1711014888 Warsaw PAP in English 0020 GMT 17 Nov 88

["Press Review"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Nov. 17—Domestic economic issues provide a majority of topics covered today by the national newspapers. Prominent among them is yesterday's meeting of the economic committee of the Council of Ministers which debated on the rules of economic game to become binding next year and promote an acceleration of reforms.

Another such report deals with the visit here by the director of the World Bank-affiliated International Financial Corporation who was received yesterday by PUWP CC Political Bureau Member and CC Secretary Wladyslaw Baka.

Prime Minister Rakowski's meeting with a group of Austrian journalists in connection with his visit to Austria in late November is also frontpaged. [passage omitted]

ZYCIE WARSZAWY carries an interview with Poland's deputy prosecutor-general on the proposed changes in the penal code. The same daily brings a comprehensive picture of the economic and political situation in Hungary offered by Hungarian Government spokesman in a talk with ZYCIE's reporter.

TRYBUNA LUDU continues its description of the opposition in Poland in a second article following that published a week ago, and carries an article written by head of the PUWP CC Ideology Department Andrzej Czyz concerning the 3rd all-Polish ideological-theoretical conference of the PUWP to be held early next year.

In a report headlined "Discussion: Miodowicz-Walesa", the TRYBUNA LUDU daily reprints Lech Walesa's statement of yesterday granted the daily and referring to OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz's proposal of holding a TV debate between them, and writes that OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz has welcomed Lech Walesa's approval of the proposal. Miodowicz told TRYBUNA LUDU's reporter yesterday:

I welcomed the information that you, Mr Walesa have accepted my invitation for a television debate. On my part I am proposing to organize it as soon as possible. I imagine that this should be a discussion between the two of us in front of TV cameras—aired live from the studio. In that case we both have a guarantee that no one will cut out anything from it. No prior arrangements or technical discussions are therefore necessary. We can surely manage without intermediaries and advisors. Let us talk, each one of us using his own language, like a worker to a worker—there is nothing to be afraid of. Let us only arrange the date with the television (crew) and let us talk before cameras. If any technical arrangements are called for, these should only be with the TV producers of the program. We can both arrange this in the TV studio a quarter of an hour before the program.

Commenting on the expected meeting Gorbachev-Reagan, to be held in December, the TRYBUNA LUDU says in part:

"It is important to demonstrate the continuation of the Soviet-American dialogue. It is well known that the American electoral campaign weakened the pulse of the Geneva negotiations, and even delayed the chance for earlier ending of the Vienna CSCE conference, which delays the possibilities of a prompt opening of European negotiations on reduction of conventional armaments and increase of confidence-building measures.

"Europe and the world wait then for the confirmation of the American readiness to carry on dialougue still before swearing in of the new U.S. President.

"Accustomed to the positive consequences of each Soviet-American summit, we are expecting the fifth one which shall be a confirmation of the continuity of Soviet-American dialogue," the daily concludes.

Today's TRYBUNA LUDU carries a report from its special correspondent to Tehran headlined "between Tehran and Warsaw" devoted to Polish-Iranian relations. The article quotes an opinion by director-general at the Iranian Foreign Ministry Mahmud Va'ezi who said i.a.:

"The political contacts between both countries are on a satisfactory level. The visits on the level of foreign ministers were already held. During the stay of your minister of foreign affairs in Tehran and our minister in Warsaw useful and constructive discussions were held", the director said.

"The relations between both countries have reached such a level that visits on the level of prime ministers are possible. Hence, I can say that the bilateral relations are good in every aspect. There are possibilities of their further development and I look at it with optimism", Mahmud Va'ezi stated.

Further in the article the correspondent states the following:

"It is not a secret that Tehran and Warsaw do not always present the same approach to certain international and regional problems. Director Va'ezi did not mention that for diplomatic reasons, but a journalist can recall that, for instance, this applies to the stands on Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. The same applies to certain aspects of the Middle-East issue", the correspondent said and added:

"Differences of this kind do not diminish the significance of close or similar views and, first of all, they do not adversely influence the bilateral relations."

PZPR Official on Walesa, Roundtable Talks

LD1711145088 Warsaw PAP in English 1306 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 17—Certain problems connected with the preparations for the round table meeting are the subject of an interview given by the head of the PUWP CC'S Socio-Legal department, Andrzej Gdula, to the Katowice weekly "TAK I NIE" (YES AND NO). Excerpts: Work is continuing on the list of people who are to sit down at the round table. The general concept of the selection of a representative group of participants is acknowledged by both sides. I will use the notion of two sides in a conventional manner since it cannot be avoided without clouding the picture of the preparatory work. Moreover, the group, let us describe it as a post-Solidarnosc one, held and still holds the opinion that it would be easier to stress the divergence of views between the sides by holding talks in groups sitting on both sides of the table. According to Mr. Lech Walesa and his followers, or rather people who think similarly, the opposition—and more precisely "Solidarnosc", would sit on one side while the authorities and the group inclined towards agreement on the other. However, the opinion on the bipolarity of the table cannot be acepted. Social reality is much more varied.

Fifty So-Called Independence Parties

There are many shades and currents of the opposition. Already in the invitation we specified with whom we will not talk—that is, all those groups which are programatically anti-systemic, against socialism. I have in mind, for example, the KPN (Confederation for an Independent Poland), which is statutorily anti-socialist. Also "Fighting Solidarnosc"—a current derived from "Solidarnosc," which is neither a trade union nor a party, but rather a "Solidarnosc" fighting squad oscillating towards a political party. Basing on the same assumption all types of "independence parties" were not invited to the talks. Few people know that we have approximately 50 such parties in Poland today, large and small alike.

The big ones are those, let us say, with 300 people, the small ones sometimes have three, four sympathizers. And in between there is also the attempt at organizing a Polish socialist party. We continue to uphold the description used by Minister Kiszczak, this precise specification of the political quality of the people talking to whom makes sense. Talks make sense with the constructive opposition, that is, the oppostion which today does not agree with the methods and means of wielding power, does not acknowledge the existing solutions but agrees that socialism can be reformed, recognizes the legal order in force in the socialist state.

The Proposal Concerns Eighty People

Initially it was assumed that there would be 50 participants at the round table. After suggestions, motions and analyses the list was expanded to over 80 people. And this list is still not precisely acknowledged by all the participants. It is rather a general proposal as to the shape of which no objections were made. We also negated the presence of certain people proposed by Mr. Walesa.

People grouped around Lech Walesa also met and discussed the strategy of discussion at the round table. The direction of these talks, and it is easily perceived in the communiques and statements made by Messrs, Walesa, Geremek, Onyszkiewica, Michnik and Kuron, shows that they are not prepared to present a constructive offer of solving Poland's problems, Andrzej Gdula said.

Gdansk 11 Nov Disturbances Viewed

AU1611145488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Nov 88 p 2

[Commentary by Zygmunt Slomkowski: "With Stones?"]

[Text] On 11 November we celebrated the 70th anniversary of the recovery of independence after 123 years of bondage in an appropriately festive and dignified way. It was an exceptional day. Political differences—those sources of conflict—and just and unjust appraisals disappeared. What dominated the day was the memory of the people who, regardless of their ideological views or different visions of the country's future, devoted their lives to gaining independence for the fatherland. People who had been implacable enemies on more than one occasion in the past stood side by side.

The one thing that mattered and continues to matter is attitudes to the most important issue, that is, Poland's freedom and independence, which is also an issue of vital importance for today's generation. Surely everyone felt that the anniversary was more important in terms of

its current rather than its historical significance. It reminded us 'hat there are issues about which we must be united regardless of the divisions and differences that may exist, and that those things that are shared cannot be the subject of rivalries and quarrels.

That was definitely the atmosphere that existed all over Poland on that day. However, for this very reason, it is not possible to overlook the attempts that were made to spoil the atmosphere. Intensive efforts were made to organize "private," "separate" meetings and marches, even if the anniversary hardly seemed to be the right occasion or day for such events. However, that does not matter as much as the fact that these gatherings—admittedly, there were not that many in terms of the country as a whole—were exploited as an opportunity for stirring up people's feelings and engaging in deceit and demagogy, which could draw uncontrollable, emotional reactions and provoke disturbances.

It should be noted that this only occurred in a very few places. If it was the conscious intention of the organizers, or at least some of them, to prevent excesses, then they deserve credit for that. However, this is all the more reason why what happened in a small part of the center of Gdansk cannot be ignored.

Preparations for the provocation that occurred there were carefully made beforehand. Groups of young people were supplied with stones, firecrackers, and bottles containing gasoline, all of which were used at a certain point. Everything was so carefully planned that even foreign television crews were brought along, and the demonstrators adopted suitable poses for the cameras...

The slogans that appeared in Gdansk and other cities indicated that the groups that sought to provoke the disturbances were using names such as "Confederation for an Independent Poland," National Union of Students, "Fighting Solidarity," and "Polish Socialist Party." Calls for disturbances in Gdansk—they also took place on Sunday—were contained in a handbill signed the "Polish Independence Party—Gdansk District." We do not know whether the group has no more than a handful or as many as several dozen members, but that is not important. What is important is what the handbill says, and that is something that the reader should be acquainted with. It reads:

"Pilsudski had no less than three enemies who had enormous armies and an indifferent world opinion at their disposal. We only have one enemy—a weak communist system that is responsive to world opinion. All that we lack is courage and determination! Who did history prove right? Was it Dmowski, the pro-Russian legalist who advocated small steps, or Pilsudski, who relied solely on himself and what he was able to seize from the enemy? Marshal Pilsudski did not try to come to some arrangement with Dzierzynski—he just pointed a gun at his head and took what was his. We lack that resolve. We are even afraid of wanting." (...) "It is time for us to put an end to pacts with the Reds, to 'roundtables,' and accord! (...) We should not be afraid of sacrificing blood." This last statement is underlined in the original.

Let us not go into the question of the crude thinking and lack of knowledge of history displayed by the authors of this little bit of paper; that is their affair. However, it has to be pointed out that these primitive thoughts call for the shedding of blood, and not just our own Polish blood. What is being called for is a declaration of war on the Soviet Union.

It may be said that all of this is nonsense, and some people might even complain about our newspaper quoting such rubbish.

Yes, it is nonsense, but it is nonsense that involves giving teenagers stones and filling up bottles with gasoline for them. It means instructing young people to carry banners calling for hangings.

All of this takes place in the name of freedom and independence, and democracy, of course. This destructive extremism has to be noted, because its boundaries keep shifting, and because its advocates seek to impose their own way of thinking—if it can be called thinking—on the bodies that they belong to.

So, unfortunately, there are people who, being unable to even produce one sentence for a positive program, stick firmly to the one word "no," and the only argument they know is that of throwing stones and carrying banners bearing a few empty words. They do not attempt to conceal the fact that their one goal is to disrupt everything positive that is in the process of being created, including the "roundtable" that is waiting there in Jablonna. There is nothing of national importance that merits their respect, including the 11 November anniversary.

So, there are important reasons for informing public opinion more extensively about the organizers of these disturbances and the authors of the provocative slogans. They represent a small fringe element in society, but they realize that by provoking disturbances in the streets—and when there are disturbances, there are always victims—they are also throwing stones at the path that is leading, however slowly, to a "roundtable" and to agreement between all the forces and tendencies that are seeking to solve the problems facing our country as quickly as possible.

It is sometimes suggested that these stones, slogans, and calls for hangings are directed at the authorities, but that is not the case. They hurt all of society, every one of us, including those who have stones pressed into their hands.

Krakow Rectors Issue Statement on Boycott
LD2510232988 Warsaw PAP in English 2241 GMT 25 Oct 88

[Text] Krakow, Oct. 25—At its extraordinary meeting here today, the college of rectors of the local higher schools familiarized itself with the situation in some of the schools in Krakow following the boycott of military training classes. The college issued the following statement:

"With genuine regret the college learned about instances of battering employees of the military studies departments at the Jagiellonian University and the technical university here and violating their dignity as academic teachers by initiators and organizers of the boycott action.

"The college condemns those guilty of such incidents and expresses its disapproval as regards the forms and methods of students' protest.

"Last May the college of rectors of Krakow-based higher schools started talks with representatives of Krakow's students' self-government.

"We are convinced that such a dialogue can and should be continued. All postulates of students concerning the reform of military training classes can make a subject of talks with competent representatives of the ministries of national education and national defence.

"The college of rectors of Krakow's higher schools calls on students to closely observe legal norms and rules of social coexistence which are binding for them as citizens and members of the academic community."

Opposition's Ideas About Coalition Aired
AU1611171188 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 13 Nov 88 pp 1,7

[Ryszard Bugaj article: "The Form and Conditions of Polish Restructuring"]

[Text] October 1988—Motto: "We live in a period of the transition from Stalinist communism to... something no one really knows what it is." "Time is a commodity in increasingly short supply. We need changes and a new hope. The road to compromise solutions is still open." (Lech Walesa, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, Issue 40/88)

For the past few weeks we have found ourselves in a basically new situation. Fortunately, this year's second wave of strikes triggered searches for the ways out of the Polish drama. For the first time since August 1980 a real opportunity has been created to reach a compromise. The opportunity is there, because, as it seems, four conditions have been fulfilled: 1) some segments of those in power have realized that the stability of the system can be guaranteed only if it undergoes considerable modernization; 2) the opposition communities have discerned prospects for acquiring a legal position and real influence on the process of solving social and economic problems; 3) neither those in power nor the opposition are able to count on massive public support if they reject an honest compromise; and 4) even far-reaching changes, which must be the precondition of a compromise, will certainly not encounter a categorical external opposition.

All the same, anxieties are very strong and, unfortunately, justified. It is proper to fear that the camp of power is not inclined to accept a minimum range of changes such as would create the hope that the socioeconomic system is able to become really more effective in its performance. It goes without saying that what is involved here is the issue of trade union pluralism and of the legalization of Solidarity. It is also proper to fear that the camp of power will be unable to consolidate itself around a genuine program of reforms and that the conservative factions in the leadership and the apparatus will keep their positions for, say, the price of formally accepting the program of reforms.

The camp of power is also anxious. I do not regard myself as entitled to express the motives of the other side, but I think that it is necessary to understand and calmly evaluate its motives. It is probable that two issues are of special significance in this connection: The fear that society may take "revenge" for 13 December 1981, and the suspicion that the opposition communities will take advantage of concessions and will organize themselves, but will not be inclined to share responsibilities vis-a-vis our people.

That is why we may assume that the modernization of real Polish socialism will become a fact and will help to increase the effectiveness of the socioeconomic system only when the monocentric political system has been put in doubt and when the program for changes reflects the real setup of social forces.

Is it possible to devise a program that is able to fulfill both those conditions?

Such a program must provide for the acceptance by the camp of power of at least the changes that are defined as social pluralism and for the acceptance by the opposition communities of some part of the responsibility for the functioning of the socioeconomic system, although, generally speaking, this system will not govern the mechanisms of political democracy. Speaking simply, also a narrow interpretation of the principle of the Communist Party's leading role assumes that the leading political centers are chosen via the democratic election procedures and that the eventual participation of opposition groups in the central state institutions is a result of negotiations and not of elections. This is tantamount to establishing a coalition formula with regard to influencing the central state institutions, especially the economic ones. This coalition formula has been no more than

window-dressing so far, because it has not included the opposition groups. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz discussed this issue with great skill at the most recent Sejm session.

The system, the foundation of which is social pluralism and a coalition formula (based on negotiations) would probably be a half-way solution between the monocentric order of real socialism and the system based on democratic order.

Let us state quite clearly: It is very difficult for the camp of power to accept such a system, because this makes it necessary for the leading political elites to make quite real concessions and to sacrifice the interests of their own clients, who are now an important component part of the social base of the governing elite. That is why this acceptance may occur when the camp of power is absolutely compelled to do so or when it receives, as compensation, certain safeguards of its own position in the transformed system.

Let us also state just as clearly that the opposition communities will also find it difficult to accept the pluralistic-coalition system, because this amounts to a stabilization of the system, which, although reformed, will still be removed from a democratic ideal under the conditions in which the development of the situation creates a strong temptation to wait for the moment when no price will have to be paid for the governing camp's concessions. This means that the opposition groups, too, are not in a situation in which they can make a clear choice. In particular, they are not in a situation in which the exclusion of trade union pluralism from the packet of changes is possible, because this exclusion would amount to giving up the support of the majority of conscious workers. The opposition communities that would accept changes that exclude trade union pluralism would be bound to lose the main segment of the social base and would become an unessential component part of a future coalition setup, a fact which the camp of power should also comprehend.

Finally, both sides are really afraid, though for different reasons, that the system of social pluralism combined with the principle of coalition does not promise better efficiency and will not be stable.

These are roughly the reasons which show that it would be naive to expect that the roundtable deliberations will be a piece of cake.

It seems to me, perhaps because of my personal situation, that we should expect that the camp of power will display much stronger opposition to the acceptance of the pluralistic-coalition system. In any case it is a fact that that for the time being those in power seem to want to reject trade union pluralism and the legalization of Solidarity, although the formula devised by the most recent Central Committee plenum has left some room for negotiations. My impression is that the opposition communities are not generally against coalition solutions, because the general conviction is that if a breakthrough in the economic situation is not made, the opposition will also be responsible. However, there are serious differences in views about the structure of the coalition formula that can be accepted. It is therefore proper to declare at this point that what I am going to write now will represent only my own views.

It goes without saying that it is impossible to view the process of reforming the system exclusively in terms of the balance of political forces and the political game. We cannot flee from the basic question of whether the system of social pluralism and coalition government is a source of the hope that the social and economic institutions will be able to function more rationally. As I have already said, serious doubts exist on this score. Although these doubts cannot be rejected, there is justification for some hope.

Primarily from the viewpoint of the performance of the economy, I would like to try to describe more closely such a potentially possible system.

It seems to me that more and more people agree that this system must include 1) independent trade unions, which are freely set up in line with the resolve of groups of workers; 2) workers' and communities' self-government bodies endowed with extensive competences; 3) freely established political associations and clubs which enable citizens to organize themselves for certain undertakings and ideological and political options; 4) local self-government bodies, which are democratically elected and which possess extensive competences (as we know, the opportunity to make progress in this regard has been most recently wasted); and 5) public opinion institutions which are able to function freely.

The future system which I have in mind will also include the institutions that can ensure genuine conditions for the bodies of the pluralistic structure to participate in making central economic and sociopolitical decisions. Such institutions must also serve as the forums at which pluralistic interests of social bodies are acknowledged by the central representation of the Communist Party. A minimum pragmatic programmatic compromise (which, of course, must not extinguish the identity of the bodies that share in working out a compromise) and the conclusion of an accord on how the coalition forces should influence state power would have to be produced within those institutions.

It is easy to see that the institutional order that would emerge would not be a copy of the order that existed in 1981, although some important features would remain unchanged. There are two differences compared with 1981. First, the structure of the pluralistic institutions would be more "balanced" and the political scenario would definitely not be determined by the struggles within the dual setup consisting of the camp of power and Solidarity. Second, unlike in 1981, there would exist

a forum for reconciling interests. However, as was the case in 1981, reconciliation of interests would be primarily a "contracted" reconciliation.

It should be said that we are still very far from such an institutional system. Some progress has been made only in the case of workers self-management bodies. We still lack a more specific interpretation of a number of the elements of the pluralistic-coalition system, which have been listed here. I think that debates on this subject should be held in public at forums other than just the roundtable.

Debates should be primarily launched about matters that are especially disputed—trade union pluralism and the shape of the coalition formula. I assert that it is possible to bring up a number of arguments in favor of pluralism and that serious counterarguments are not at hand. The first argument is that it is a fact that new trade unions affiliate about 50 percent of workers who were organized in trade unions in 1981, that this percentage has been slightly increasing for the past 2 or 3 years, and that many members of the new trade unions have joined them for lack of choice (and even under pressure). It is a fact that in the past 6 years the new trade unions have been unable to solve any urgent problem affecting workers and to prevent erroneous economic policy and that, despite everything, the new trade union structures (especially the central structures) are seen as a component part of the monocentric order (if only because all the central trade union leaders are party members). I do not maintain that the new trade unions are a copy of the [old] organization of the Central Trade Union Council, but I do maintain that the new unions have failed to obtain the support of an enormous majority of workers and are not capable of representing at least the majority of the work forces. The result is that when serious workers' conflicts materialize (as in the spring and summer of this year), the new trade unions have simply nothing to say. Conflicts are necessarily elemental in nature, and this is where the crux of the first argument comes in: It is necessary to accept trade union pluralism, because it is now the necessary condition in Poland for creating the institutional framework for solving workers' conflicts. It is needless to argue that this thesis is shored by the assumption that it is better for conflicts to be contained within the institutional framework of the system than to acquire an elemental nature. The second argument is that it is impossible to imagine the process by which interests can be reconciled within the framework of coalition if the representation of the majority of workers, especially of groups of workers, is excluded. We should evaluate this argument not only in an abstract manner, but also in the context of the present crisis of our economy and of the need for reaching a social consensus on the issue of an anticrisis program. The third argument is that trade union pluralism and the legalization of Solidarity are matters of the credibility of the camp of power and of the opportunity to basically calm down emotions that are the heritage of the 13 December 1981. One is justified in expecting that precisely this issue may help positively change the social climate in Poland and the nature of foreign public opinion vis-a-vis Poland. It is surely needless to prove what tremendous, albeit intangible, significance this would have. The fourth argument is that the legalization of Solidarity is a condition under which the groups that had close links with Solidarity in 1981 would assume active attitudes. According to public opinion polls, those groups are very much in favor of reforms. Their active attitudes would amount to a positive move in the political situation.

The apparatus of the new trade unions is most vehemently opposed to trade union pluralism. This is easy to understand, although one could expect that the functionaries of the new trade unions should be able to rise above their own parochial interests. They have only one argument, namely, that trade union pluralism will result in a political struggle in production plants. This is a rather surprising argument, because in 1981 the most acute political struggles were waged at levels other than production plants. However, there are other reasons for that argument. It should be clearly said that the struggle in production plants is a result of the intensification of conflicts in plants and not of institutional solutions (which merely determine the forms of struggle). Such conflicts exist (for example, the acute conflict in Silesia between work forces and the supervising cadres). It is necessary to ensure that they are solved in a civilized way and it is necessary to search for solutions that are favorable to the functioning of plants. I think we should heed Lech Walesa's suggestion that a single plant council composed of representatives of all trade unions in proportion to the number of trade union members should be set up in plants.

The consideration of the coalition formula should begin with defining the functions it would have to fulfill, but I would like to stress that what follows in this article applies to a temporary institution, the task of which should be solving social and economic matters above all and then the political matters, although a demarcation line is difficult to draw in this regard. Its main purpose should be devising and concerting an "anticrisis pact" (or an understanding in favor of the reform) and the supervision over this pact.

The purpose of the coalition would be to stimulate work on alternative economic and social programs, to promote extensive public debates on these programs, to initiate the selection of programmatic tasks, and to reconcile interests. This means that the coalition must be a body that is composed primarily of representatives of various organized interest groups and the people enjoying social authority. It is naive to think that such people can be replaced by nonpolitical experts, although it is desirable that at least some of this body's members be experts. But is is a hard fact that the main barrier to effective activities is the inability to reconcile interests under the present institutional conditions and not the lack of intellectual concepts.

Not so long ago a proposal was made to set up the Council of National Accord as an institution that would serve as a platform for coalition forces and that would have greater powers than the present Consultative Council (which does not possess formal powers).

In view of the aforementioned functions, it would certainly be desirable for the authorities of the "highest level" to be represented in the Council of National Accord, because this would facilitate the implementation of decisions, and to simplify the making of decisions. However, it does not seem that the council in question would be able to act effectively enough and possess the necessary social authority if, as the Consultative Council, it is hitched on to a high office of the state. That council must be absolutely independent and must possess definite powers and an internal organization. It should be able to propose legislation, to address the Sejm on programmatic recommendations, cadre proposals, and evaluations, and to suspend certain government decisions for a certain time. As for its internal organization, the council should be completely open, should be able to take initiative on behalf of all members, and should make decisions on the basis of a "qualified majority." ["wiekszosc kwalifikowana"] This last function is controversial, but it seems that decisions reached by a normal majority must not be practiced by an institution that is set up by negotiations and not by elections. However, the principle of consensus may paralyze all activities. It is needless to add that representativeness is the condition for the effective performance of that body.

I have no room here to discuss other elements of a pluralistic-coalition order, but I have to make three observations to avoid possible misunderstandings. One, as for trade union pluralism, it has been suggested that it should be restored only at the level of production plants. This is an exceptionally dangerous idea. The realization of this idea can only be effective in promoting rivalry between trade unions and in eliminating the benefits that can be produced by the expansion of trade union freedoms. I think that it is enough to note in this connection that such pluralism eliminates trade union representation from the coalition setup and thereby undermines the meaning of the coalition formula.

Two, as for workers self-management bodies, I would like to stress that these bodies will not fulfill their functions if their powers do not include (except in special cases) the power to appoint and dismiss managers, that is, if the nomenklatura control of cadres, which is the main reason for the pathological political character of the economy, is not eliminated. It is also necessary to create conditions for an extensive self-management movement that represents certain categories of economic interests.

Three, as for the performance of the public opinion institutions, it should be stressed that the issue is not only the radical strengthening of legal safeguards against arbitrary censorship, but also such changes in the press law that the legal publication of periodicals and books does not require any other obligations than presenting these publications to the censor. Setting up efficient institutions of social control over radio and television is also an urgent issue. The point is that radio and television should not be propaganda institutions at the disposal of the authorities.

The reform of the political system as outlined above must not be treated as a panacea to cure the Polish crisis. Nor is there any reason to assume that it will be possible to easily solve conflicts under the proposed order. We must not forget that even fully democratic structures will not be able to cope with conflicts, especially the acute ones, and Polish conflicts are such .

However, one has reason to hope that political changes will help to overcome apathy and to stimulate social militancy, that it will be possible to draw up an adequate economic program, that our people will more readily accept the hardships produced by the economic reform, that the conservative bureacratic apparatus will be deprived of freedom of action, and that foreign countries will change their views about Poland. If all that could be achieved, the gain would be great, even though we do not know whether it would be great enough.

It goes without saying that the system discussed here should continue to evolve. It is certain the changes in the Constitution and in the role of the Sejm should be made in such a way as to create conditions for a truly far-reaching modernization and not for an accelerated petrification of the system that has been only superficially transformed.

Paper Urges Realistic Approach to Problems

PM0111114488 Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 11 Oct 88 pp1, 6

[Stefan Janusiewicz commentary: "The Mythology of Hard Times"]

[Text] "Grant us a universal war of nations, we beseech Thee, o Lord"—thus sang the Polish people at the beginning of the present century, unable to see any other way of breaking out of their fetters of national slavery and impotence. Faced with such supplications, the pacifist-oriented salons of wealthy, intellectual Europe—which at the same time represented a bastion of the Holy Trinity—regarded the Poles as abominable anarchists who surpassed even the Irish terrorists in their menace. They pointed out that the easterly-peripheral Polish Catholic church was spreading some fantastic notions of national independence instead of preaching godly humility and labor in the sweat of one's brow. It was feeding its faithful with crazy myths in which Christ wore a Polish insurgent's cap and the Holy Family sat together celebrating Christmas with traditional Polish customs and Polish fare, singing Polish Christmas carols and lamenting Poland's enslaved state while at the same time

nurturing the Polish dream of power and might. The status of the Polish people in the eyes of contemporary Europe was lowered because of their rampant Polish nationalism, sprinkled with holy water and strewn over with the ash of their fervent prayers. Eminent Polish names like Paderewski, Naruszewicz, Przewalski, and so many others from the world of art, science, and technology, who lived away from Polish communities, provided examples of exceptions which proved the rule—the rule which said that the Polish ethnic group can do very well without a state of its own.

Whatever great things may have happened to the national identity of the Polish people since then, one characteristic became indelibly imprinted in the traditional Polish ethos: a perpetual inclination to create and promote myths. When other nations or states fall into misfortune, they redouble their firm grasp on reality and set down to hard work by which they expect to change their situation, without immediately sinking into sulking and despair. The Polish people first must have a myth: to invent one and then to come to believe it, so that—concentrating on their myth and believing in it fervently—they can then begin to switch on their will to work and their concern about their country and their daily existence. Without that myth they lose heart, they make no headway in their work, they develop a sense of despondency, hopelessness, and the conviction that there is no future ahead of them.

These characteristic Polish blues are a great favorite with ethnographers all over the world: They repeatedly describe them in their studies because they represent a natural phenomenon unknown elsewhere in the modern world. The Polish susceptibility to national myths is shared by all political orientations. The Catholics have their own national myth, so have the National Democrats, and over the last 70 years of Polish statehood Polish Marxists have produced so many national and social myths that they could have shared them with half of Europe's nations. That is, assuming that anyone in Europe would take such myths seriously enough to pay them any attention, let alone share in them.

No sooner did we manage—with great difficulty—to attain national independence than we decided to treat ourselves to a Polish-Soviet war. Having received a severe hiding there and been forced to retreat as far as Warsaw, we saw our hard-won independence in danger of disintegrating again, so we concocted the "miracle on the Vistula." And immediately we vanquished the enemy!

Soon after I first learned to string letters together into words, I read an account of that event in my elder brother's history book. Apparently, at the very sight of a cross brandished by Father Skorupka, Tukhachevskiy gave a great howl of ungodly, Bolshevik pain and fled , together with his entire army, to take refuge beyond the river Dnieper. The Vistula miracle was a prewar instance of our classic "propaganda of success" tactic. However, Pilsudski, who was rather indifferent as far as religion was concerned, found this propaganda interfering with his strategy of calling public attention to his own military successes—especially as it was other generals who had worked for the "miracle on the Vistula" triumph.

Before long, both socialists and communists decided they wanted a myth of their own, too. Thus, when Pilsudski staged the May coup against his own state, the whole leftist camp—and especially the communists—hailed him as a man of destiny who at long last gave short shrift to those hateful bourgeois. Unfortunately, it was communists, socialists, and populists who were thrown into jails rather than aristocrats from our eastern borderland. That myth did not last long. It was also an important, albeit not sufficiently appreciated, indication that in their acceptance of daydreams as reality the Marxists departed from their own ideology even though the latter had its roots in a realistic, "hard facts" assessment of the world.

Prior to 1939 we sang with gusto and great conviction: "Our fleet, though not too large, guards our ports with valiant might." Later, already in 1939, we maintained confidently that we "would not hand over as much as a single button" to the enemy. On the first day of the war our fleet had to abandon the ports, and we handed over virtually all but the celebrated button to the enemy.

Throughout the occupation we fed our hopes on recalling Wernyhora's prophecies, conjuring up the spirits of Pilsudski and Napoleon (!), while gazing hopefully toward the West, from where our liberators were supposed to arrive. The liberators came from the East. This messed up out myths very badly. But we quickly improvised another myth, that of General Anders who would surely, come spring, arrive on his white mount and disperse the enemy. After very many years, with the myth long dead of old age and decrepitude, someone did indeed arrive, again from the East, even though he did not ride a white mount, and dispersed an enemy. It was Gorbachev, who started dispersing the Stalinist system of power and has been dispersing it ever since. But oh, how it spoils our whole structure of national myths! After all, were not we Poles supposed always to be the world leaders in progress and democracy? Well, it would not be amiss if we considered matters realistically for once: not always! Our quibbles, sulking, and habitual resentment against socialism have combined to spoil a lot for us. We are quite capable of cutting off our noses to spite our faces. Such is our extravagant Polish temperament, and we are proud of it! Next, we invented an excellent cure for the bad times of economic recession: strikes. Between the opposition and the incompetent authorities, together we persuaded our young people that strikes were the best method of getting rid of the absurd paradoxes of our daily life. The myth of strikes as a method of rescuing Poland is such a uniquely Polish idea that we could have it patented without any difficulty. Except that no one in their right mind would take recourse to such a method. I wonder why....

To make up for all the shortages we suffer, our national myths' repository has provided several substitute measures. Our favorite substitute measure is verbosity. It replaces for us a sense of patriotic responsibility, it stands in for all deeper reflection, and—above all—it is a substitute for all action. In Poland, it is enough to start by saying loudly, "Have the authorities lost all reason now?" to be hailed as an intellectual, a true democrat, and an uncompromising revolutionary.

We have dragged political struggle into the domain of myths, too. After August 1980, the opposition would chant: "If you want your rolls with ham, first register our union." Anywhere else in the world this would be greeted with hoots of laughter, but here in Poland many respected luminaries and eminent institutions gave their blessing to this myth.

In their campaign against this kind of mythomania, the authorities—aided and supported by my party—also invented a myth of their own. They insisted that a certain mustachioed gentleman was a private individual and that they were not interested in his antics. However, 7 years later it turned out that the private individual did, after all, represent somebody, and could be invited to the roundtable talks. So the agitators in my party lost face over this issue yet again. And so did the press.

We have hardly had time to shake off those old myths before the new ones have begun to emerge. One of these is the myth of pluralism, the other is the "roundtable" myth. Throughout Poland, people are repeating mindlessly: "As soon as we have pluralism (especially trade union pluralism) economic recovery will begin, and we will see it in our wallets." If our economy is suffering from credit deficiency; shortages of materials, parts, and components imported from the West; chaotic labor and pay organization; as well as general despondency on the part of the work force, then pluralism (which is already in existence, anyway) can be only a substitute cure, a placebo, a drug that relieves isolated symptoms instead of restoring health to the entire economy.

What about the roundtable talks? That is a serious national issue. The roundtable talks must work out and formulate the rules of the political game played by the Poles. They must define the limits: How far can the authorities go and how far can the opposition go so as not to destroy Poland and the Polish people in the mutual struggle. So as not to destroy socialism but to activate all its humanistic values instead. These are long-term considerations, and they are not going to put more television sets, shoes, or uncontaminated milk in our stores overnight. To fan the flames of the roundtable myth is to lead our young, impatient generation along a path that can only offer them another disappointment and cause them to reflect: "Things were supposed to be getting better but again nothing came of it."

The practice of diverting people's attention away from the truth that only hard work and rational effort can produce material affluence should be declared a morally punishable offence. The only truly salutary strategy in our Polish circumstances would be to stop producing myths and start producing decent goods instead. But if we cannot survive without our myths, let us create a myth of a wise Pole who shuts the door before the horse has bolted and who has made himself a comfortable life in his own country.

We are not likely to run short of ideas.

OPZZ Executive Committee Discusses Roundtable

LD2110022488 Warsaw PAP in English 1946 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—The preparing of labour delegations for the "round table" debate was the topic of a session on Thursday [20 October] of the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions which expressed the hope that the "round table" would attract people who, though representing different views, would responsibly and constructively undertake efforts to improve the situation in Poland, the OPZZ press office reported.

That is why alarming are the attempts by adventurist forces to join the talks, extending the preliminary negotiations and delaying the start of the "round table" work.

The meeting preliminarily accepted the OPZZ representative's address, prepared on the basis of resolutions and program adopted at the congress of the Polish Reborn Trade Unions. It was once again recalled that in its statement on a model labour movement, the OPZZ council clearly said that only one trade union should operate in one enterprise, with its shape, program and leadership being determined by trade unionists of this enterprise.

The Executive Committee firmly stressed that to transfer political struggle onto the forum of trade unions and work establishments is perilous to factories and endangers social existence.

Rakowski Interviewed on Reform Policy

AU1711142088 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 17 Nov 88 p 2

[Burkhard Bischof report: "Rakowski: 'Poland Does Not Have Time Any Longer'; Reforms by Resolute Steps"]

[Text] Warsaw—"There will be no future for Poland if the industrial structure that has developed over the course of decades is not thoroughly changed." This was one of the crucial remarks made by the new Polish prime minister, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, in a talk with a group of Austrian journalists in Warsaw yesterday. In this

"period of change, radical and bitter measures are necessary to achieve improvements the day after tomorrow." Poland has a great pool of talented people. Economic structures in which they can develop their abilities have to be created for them.

The new government that he is heading does not have time any longer, it has to start restructuring, Rakowski stated. For years, the liquidation of unprofitable enterprises was discussed; for example, a plan to close down the Gdansk Lenin shipyard had been in the cards for a long time. So he made the decision. In contrast to the reporting of the Western media, there were many positive reactions to this decision in Poland, as well as in the affected city of Gdansk, he said.

Moreover, Western reporters have not yet taken note of the fact that the support of his policy by the Polish population has increased considerably since his assuming office some weeks ago. Many years of discussions by the former government had fatigued the population so much that the people have been apparently surprised and delighted at his resolute first steps, he stated.

Rakowski denied during the talk that he is against the "roundtable dialogue" with the opposition: "On the contrary, I am one of the fathers of this concept, I pin my hopes on this dialogue and I believe that the discussions will be productive. However, should I really have waited for these discussions before making decisions? No, I have already had to act with great energy, in order to show the public that we have a new government, which is no longer continuing the old practices that were the reason for the resignation of the former government."

He is not an enemy of the Solidarity trade union, Rakowski said, but is only against the extremists in its ranks. He is also not hostile to Lech Walesa, as has been frequently reported. "Walesa is a man with charisma. Just like me, he has changed in the past 7 years, and I appreciate his realism in many fields."

RFE, BBC Programs on Rakowski Condemned

LD1711094588 Warsaw PAP in English
2007 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—Since the time when Mieczyslaw Rakowski was appointed prime minister reformatory actions in Poland have gathered momentum and become more specific. Nearly everyday produces either significant decisions or announcements of changes in new draft laws aimed to make them more pro-reformatory than it was envisaged still a year ago. Without much risk one can say that reforms in Poland are approaching a point of no return.

Public opinion polls confirm that a decisive vast of society not only perceives but also supports such a stance taken by the government as this arouses hope for fundamental economic and social changes even if the improvement of the situation produced by them is not to be immediate.

Nobody doubts either that Polish society was very satisfied to take part in state and public observances of the 70th anniversary of regaining independence.

This, however, does not suit everyone. There are also those who consider both things bad. You can't believe it. You want names. Here they are: It was enough to get tuned to Radio Free Europe programme November 14 in the evening to hear a long statement by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, who contemptuously called the observances of 70 years of independence "such fireworks". He literally said: "Prime Minister Rakowski simply wants to show that he can govern the country without the 'round table,' trying to win over society with such fireworks as various observances of 70 years of independence."

On the same evening his pal Adam Michnik appeared in the Polish-language programme of the BBC with extensive arguments aimed to persuade the listeners that the Rakowski government does not want reforms at all.

Ever more difficult tasks are being taken on by these broadcasting stations.

Overseas Solidarity Leader Criticizes Thatcher

LD0311095188 Warsaw PAP in English
0050 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] London, Nov. 2—Two activists of the former Solidarnosc, head of its "foreign office" in Brussels Jerzy Milewski and spokesman of its authorities in Poland, Janusz Onyszkiewicz have criticized Premier Margaret Thatcher's policy towards trade unions in Great Britain.

In a statement published following the sacking and compulsory transfer to other posts of a group of members of trade unions of state administration employees Milewski declared: "We appreciate the stand of the British Government on the issue of union rights in Poland and its support for Solidarnosc. The just concern on its part and...sympathy for our struggle will gain, however, more prestige if it applies the same yardstick vis-a-vis British employees."

Janusz Onyszkiewicz voiced a similar opinion during his recent stay in London. Addressing the local Polish community he said; "We wholeheartedly support Mrs Thatcher's struggle for human rights but her anti-union policy is unacceptable to us."

Meanwhile, British unionists from Leeds sent a cable last week to Lech Walesa asking him not to meet with Premier Margaret Thatcher during her visit to Poland. They referred to Mrs Thatcher as a hypocrite supporting union rights in Poland and refusing such rights to British employees and appealed to Walesa to boycott the meeting as a sign of solidarity with unionists expelled from the GCHQ. [Government Communications Headquarters]

Jaruzelski, Siwicki Meet Armed Forces Staff

LD2810233588 Warsaw PAP in English
1900 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 28—Top staff members of the Polish Armed Forces took part in an annual meeting on October 27 and 28, chaired by defence minister, General Florian Siwicki. The meeting was attended by superior of the Polish Armed Forces, General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Guidelines adopted at the meeting took account of directives ensuing for the Armed Forces from the defensive character of Poland's war doctrine and from the plan of the consolidation of the national economy.

Much attention was devoted to improved functioning of the Armed Forces in the patriotic and civic education of soldiers, young people preparing for military service, reservists and students. Attempts to undermine the defence duty towards the nation and the state were determined as inadmissible.

General Jaruzelski stressed the role of Armed Forces in the process of agreement and struggle. He thanked all Polish soldiers for the fulfilment of tasks facing the Army, for their unfailing readiness to safeguard peace, borders and security of the state.

Siwicki Addresses Riazan Soldiers

LD2710165988 Warsaw Domesic Service in Polish
0700 GMT 27 Oct 88

[From the "From Sunday to Sunday" program]

[Text] In the Higher Officers School of Signals Troops in Zegrze outside Warsaw, General Florian Siwicki, the national defense minister, met with former attendants of the Riazan school. They came to Zegrze from all over Poland. The majority are retired soldiers, but in accord with the (?title) of their oath continually faithful to the service of Poland. Gen Siwicki said i.a.:

[Begin Siwicki recording] Esteemed and dear officer colleagues, dear lady colleagues, comrades of the soldiers' war trials. It has alredy become a tradition to meet every October to recall those young years, which we experienced together in [word indistinct], Riazan on the path of battle leading to our beloved Poland. This time always expresses all that unites us in order to convince younger people that we have remained completely faithful to our oath of loyalty to our homeland, regardless of our present posts or the social position we are bound by.

I think that the school which we went through together, the school of soldiers endurance, of civic duty, which united us in those years weighs us down somewhat today, now that we've turned gray. However, we still act according to our motto of service for the general good is more important than personal needs. This is not the Riazanists only distinguishing characteristic. I probably wouldn't be making the slightest mistake if I state that everyone who (?put on) a soldier's uniform and came to know the labor and toil of the soldiers fighting for Poland, regardless of the path he followed to the homeland, will be characterized by the duty to serve a superior cause, the issue of the state, the homeland issue, the issue of Poland to the end of his life.

Today those civic characteristics have an exceptionally greater significance. We are on the threshold of great changes which await us, which are generally defined as an improvement of the methods and forms of governing the socialist state, of the economic reform, of national reconciliation. But in order to be able to achieve those noble aims for the good of our homeland, so that tomorrow might be better than today, the public must have a greater understanding about serving the general good, renounce personal views on the matter, or approach many of today's spheres in the cause of higher matters, the matters of society in general, matters of Poland, matters of our nation.

I am pleased that Riazanists can be counted on. I also think one cannot live otherwise. [end recordng]

The meeting ended with the awarding of state decorations.

Foreign Trade Minister Details 'First Decisions'

LD2810023988 Warsaw PAP in English
2308 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—During the debate of a Sejm (parliament) committee here today, the Minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation Dominik Jastrzebski informed deputies on his first decisions.

He decided to give up some of his powers stemming from a number of ministry-level legal acts and to leave a free hand on these issues to the foreign trade enterprises. He intends to make a similar move as regards the powers stemming from the legal acts of higher level, that is, for instance, resolutions of the government. The minister will soon present the government with a motion in this respect.

Minister Jastrzebski will also make efforts to cut down the number of the ministry's personnel from 450 to 300 people as he holds that his office should deal with the strategy of operation which requires less people.

The minister has been obliged to work out a new draft law on undertaking economic activity and amended version of the law on joint ventures. He thinks that the law on enterprises should be short and understandable for all. Both draft laws will be presented to the government for a review not later than till November 11 this year.

The creation of conditions for the annual growth of exports of some 2 billion dollars, building the system of free flow of hard currency inside Poland and supporting the development of small export-orinted firms selling their products abroad are his main objectives.

Czyrek Chairman of International Relations Club

LD2710082688 Warsaw PAP in English
0003 GMT 27 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 26—The Polish Club for Internatonal Relations was set up to take part in developing Polish thinking in foreign policy and international relations, to provide public support for actions designed to consolidate peaceful coexistence and to develop friendly relations and cooperation between European and world nations. Its goal is also to participate in promoting common understanding and agreement in society as far as Poland's overriding interests on the international arena are concerned. The aim of the club is to co-shape the Polish public opinion on Poland's foreign policy and international relations, to support international social contacts in the interest of mutual understanding of nations, and to promote knowledge of the Polish foreign policy and international relations.

The first general assembly held at the Royal Castle here today appointed the club authorities. Jozef Czyrek (PUWP CC Political Bureau member and CC secretary, chairman of the CC International Committee) was elected the club chairman. Aleksander Gieysztor (Warsaw University professor, head of the Royal Castle Museum, an outstanding scientist) Manfred Lachs (internatioanl law professor at the War University, judge of The Hague International Tribunal of Justice) were appointed vice-chairman. Stanislaw Trepczynski (chairman of the Polish UNICEF Committee, former deputy foreign minister and former ambassador) was appointed secretary of the club, and Maciej Wirowski (former ambassador and head of Polish Parliament Chancellery)—the club treasurer.

Over 200 representatives of various milieux and orientations who joined the club wish to base its activity on recognition of pluralism and agreement as the superior values.

The club and its activity will constitute one of the important elements of expansion of national agreement. Consensus in the issues of foreign policy, to which the club should contribute, is, as it was stressed, in its significance equal to the consensus in the questions of internal economic, social and political reforms.

Foreign policy is a sphere which evokes relatively minute controversies. There exists a wide understanding of reason of the alliance with the USSR and other socialist states as a base of Poland's territorial integrity and security. There is also a wide support for the unequivocal peaceful objectives of the Polish foreign policy, especially for Poland's active participation in building common security in Europe and constructive shaping of the East-West relations, including the need for positive development of Poland's relations with the Western countries. There is no doubt that the Polish foreign policy's objectives converge with Poland's national interests. Also, one cannot doubt that both the issue of objectives and the ways of attaining them require an extensive social dialogue. Being a body of public character, not affiliated with any of the state institutions or social organisations, the club should serve well such a dialogue.

During the club's meeting Trepczynski announced an intention to invite known politicians from the U.S., FRG, and Italy to appear at club meetings.

Government Sociopolitical Committee Inaugurated

LD2810111288 Warsaw PAP in English
0103 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—The government Socio-Political Committee held its inaugural meeting today.

The Socio-Political Committee is a government body ensuring day-to-day coordination of activities and the efficient programming and implementation of tasks in the socio-political sphere. The tasks of the committee include opining and recommending to the Council of Ministers legal acts concerning the conditions of political and social life, current analyses of the situation in Poland, coordination of undertakings aimed at modernizing and democratizing the legal system, creating conditions for the development of civil initiative and inspiring social consultations and public opinion polling as well as engaging in necessary social mediations.

The committee devoted its first session to discussion on the draft law on associations. Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Zbigniew Pudysz presented its key assumptions and directions of solutions. At present there are 2,250 associations in Poland grouping 18 million citizens. 80 new organizations were registered in 1986 and about 100 so far this year. The number of rejected applications for registration has fallen clearly.

The new rules aim to enable citizens to fully make use of the constitutional right to associate. The functioning of many associations with competing programs of action will therefore be possible. One could expect that association pluralism will create a plane for a presentation of various outlooks, political inclusive.

The bill was worked out by a team composed of representatives of the state and church side in the following composition: Janina Orlowska, Jerzy Bafia, Antoni Rajkiewicz, Andrzej Stelmachowski, Wieslaw Chrzanowski and Jan Olszewski. They analyzed legal solutions in force in Poland and 20 other states.

The draft envisages transferring of matters associated with the registration of associations to common courts, departing from the obligation of registering local branches and the possibility of the participation of youth aged 13 to 18 in all kinds of associations.

The Socio-political Committee directed the draft for social consultations which are to last till November 30.

The RZECZPOSPOLITA daily will carry the bill on associations. Its editorial office will at the same time open a consultative centre receiving all comments, proposals and suggestions of citizens in this respect.

Political Opposition Club Press Conference
AU2510161388 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 16 Oct 88 p 2

[Unsigned report: "'Dziekania'"]

[Text] The "Dziekania" Political Thought Club held a press conference on 5 October. This was its first press conference since its legal registration and the election of its governing bodies. "Dziekania" has been in existence for 4 years, but it was only registered in August of this year. The club is a coalition made up of various opposition groups and independent people connected with the opposition. The person who came up with the idea of forming the club was Prof Stanislaw Stomma, who is also the club's president. Aleksander Hall, who is head of the (...) group, is currently one of the club's vice presidents. Aleksander Dzielski, the founder and leader of the Krakow-based "13" group as well the head of the Krakow Industry Association, was also elected vice president. Another group that comprises part of "Dziekania" is represented by Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz, who was also made a vice president. The presidium also includes Andrzej Urbanski, a representative of "Wola" Workplace Pastoral Care. During the press conference, representatives of "Dziekania" set out their position on issues relating to the current situation in the country and the club's plans. "Dziekania" is a political association with what is a clear-cut opposition profile. It wishes to replace the current political and economic setup with a system based on pluralism and the free market. The groups that make up the club appreciate the importance of Poland's relations with the USSR. However, they believe that these should not be based on ideological visions, but on political interests.

Democratic Party on Polish President Concept
LD2610101688 Warsaw PAP in English 0209 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—The Presidium of the Democratic Party Central Committee held a meeting today to discuss work on the concept of the post of president of Poland, the activities of the legislative council at the Council of Ministers, and preparations for the 'round table.'

The Presidium expressed a conviction that the first plenary session of the "round table" planned for October 28 would in fact take place, in line with the common expectations of those broad social circles which, regardless of political and world outlook differences or divisions, wish to actively participate in overcoming the painful and costly barriers of today, hampering the country's progress and development.

Distancing itself from extreme positions, the Presidium expressed regret and anxiety over attempts to further delay and even render impossible the start of the debates. The Democratic Party has prepared a package of its own proposals for the "round table" conducive to the further democratization of the state and economy and socio-political life.

The session welcomed the support of the PUWP for the concept of setting up the post of president of Poland, expressing a hope that the United Peasant Party and PRON would back the idea of restoring this institution forwarded by the Democratic Party.

In the view of the Democratic Party, the introduction of the institution of president of Poland could become an occasion to introduce deeper reform of the rules of governing in Poland, in the direction of improving and democratizing them which could be acheived using the principle of a division of authority into three parts mutually controlling and checking themselves, known in many states.

Declaration of Palestinian Independence Welcomed
LD1611190288 Warsaw PAP in English 1741 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 16—In connection with the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state Tuesday, Nov. 15, spokesman for the Polish Foreign Ministry Stefan Staniszewski has made the following statement:

The Polish authorities were pleased to welcome the declaration of independence adopted at a meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers this November 15. It manifests just aspirations of the Palestinian people to self-determination and remains in full concordance with the binding U.N. decisions, including the 1967-resolution No 242 of the Security Council. The declaration comes out in favour of convening an international conference on Middle East under the U.N. auspices.

Poland has always declared itself for materialization of inalienable national rights of Palestinians, which is evidenced by her many-year relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people. When the state authorities are appointed we will start cooperation with them in line with the international law.

We express a conviction that the implementation of the declaration of Palestinian independence will be conducive to establishing lasting peace in the Middle East, peace that secures safety and conditions for peaceful development for all the states of the region.

Italian Foreign Trade Minister Visits

Says Results 'Good'

LD2610224788 Warsaw PAP in English
1953 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 26—Italian Minister of Foreign Trade Renato Ruggiero ended his two-day visit to Poland today after having held talks with Polish Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Dominik Jastrzebski, meeting with Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, Minister of Industry Mieczyslaw Wilczek and managers of the FSO car factory and the FSM small car factory.

The sides discussed the whole of the problems related to Polish-Italian economic cooperation with particular regard to cooperation in the car industry and the participation of Italian firms in pro-export reorientation of the Polish economy through modernization and expansion of production capacities. The moves are meant to make the offer of Polish producers more competitive and to increase the number of cooperation, trade and technological ties between Polish and foreign firms.

In his statement for PAP, the Italian minister said that the results reached so far were very good.

Asked to comment on the programme of the new Polish Government, Renato Ruggiero said: "I had an impression that I held talks with ministers determined to introduce quick and profound internal reforms and broad cooperation with the West." "To be able to create new lines of development of financial cooperation Poland is in a difficult situation. It seems that there is a need for great political and social accord. The international community should be prepared to understand the Polish situation. Italy is surely a country which is standing by your side," Ruggiero said.

Minister Jastrzebski said that he highly assessed the results of Minister Ruggiero's visit to Poland. "I expect that this stage of intensifying our mutual contacts should be crowned with a visit to Poland by a large mission of Italian industrialists and businessmen" Jastrzebski said.

Minister Meets Rakowski

LD2610225488 Warsaw PAP in English
2040 GMT 26 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 26—Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski received here today Italian Minister of Foreign Trade Renato Ruggiero.

During the talk, the two assessed the state of bilateral relations, expressing mutual will for their all-around development, especially in the field of industrial coproduction, trade and finance.

Minister Ruggiero declared activities aimed to increase the level of mutual turnover, for instance, by the creation of joint enterprises, direct investment of Italian capital in Poland as well as the elimination of barriers limiting Polish exports to Italy.

Siwicki Receives, Decorates Finnish General

LD2110033688 Warsaw PAP in English
0121 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—Polish defense minister, General Florian Siwicki, received here today supreme commander of the Finnish Defence Forces, General Jaakko Valtanen, who is paying an official visit to Poland.

In the course of the meeting, the two exchanged views on the role of medium and small countries in the strengthening of European and world peace and security.

General Siwicki decorated General Valtanen with the Commanders Cross With the Star of the Order of Merit of the Polish Peoples Republic conferred upon him by the Polish Council of State in recognition of his contribution to the strengthening of cooperation between Finland and Poland.

Today, General Valtanen also visited Oswiecim where he paid tribute to the victims of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Nazi concentration camps. Later on, the Finnish guest toured the historical sites of Krakow, Poland's former capital.

Nicaraguan Deputy Foreign Minister Ends Visit

LD2110030988 Warsaw PAP in English
1641 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 20—Nicaragua's Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Victor Hugo Tinoco ended his two-day visit to Poland today.

Tinoco was received by Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Tadeusz Olechowski and head of the PUWP [PZPR] CC Foreign Affairs Department, Ernest Kucza.

During talks with Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Jan Majewski the two men reviewed Polish-Nicaraguan relations and exchanged views on the situation in Europe and Latin America. They positively rated the progress in Polish- Nicaraguan relations during the last several years, especially in political dialogue, economic cooperation, cultural as well as scientific-technological exchange.

Deputy Minister Majewski informed his interlocutors about the initiatives being undertaken by Poland and the Warsaw Treaty countries aimed at reducing tension in

Europe. He devoted particular attention to the plan of reducing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe, put forward by President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Deputy Minister Tinoco presented an evaluation of the situation in Latin America and Nicaragua's efforts aimed at a peaceful resolution of conflicts in Central America.

During the talks the Nicaraguan guest was assured that Poland would continue to support the Nicaraguan Government's efforts directed at national reconciliation and the achievement of lasting peace in Central America. Poland supports the right of every nation to chose its own road to development, without external interference. Poland confirms its attitude that the settlement of the situation in that region by way of political methods is of particular importance for strengthening peace in the world.

Deputy Minister Victor Hugo Tinco gave a lecture in the Polish Institute of Foreign Affairs.

Sejm on CSSR Dispute, Nuclear Energy

AU1511151688 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Nov 88 p 6

[PAP report on question time at the 11 November Sejm session in Warsaw: "Motions and Questions from Deputies"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Deputy Tadeusz Kijonka (PZPR) addressed several questions about the environmental situation near the Czechoslovak border to the minister of environmental protection and natural resources. One of the largest coking plants in any CEMA country is being built at Stonava, close to the border. It is to be completed in 1992. The densely-populated area on the Polish side of the border is clearly under threat, and this is disturbing the public. This will be yet another source of pollution in this region, after the Trinec matallurgical combine and Detmarovice power station, near Godow, actually on the border itself. The prevailing winds in this area are making us victims in advance, said Deputy Kijonka, who then asked whether Poland had undertaken any action, and if so, what the outcome was, and whether this issue was going to be discussed during this year's meeting of the premiers of Poland, the CSSR, and GDR.

Recalling that this is yet another year in which the Odra River and neighboring agricultural fields are polluted with oil, the deputy also asked about Polish claims for compensation from the Czechoslovak perpetrators of this pollution.

In reply, Jozef Koziol, minister of environmental protection and natural resources, said that the Polish government plenipotentiary responsible for implementing the Polish-CSSR Government agreement on atmospheric pollution had asked his Czechoslovak counterpart for an explanation concerning the construction of the coking plant in Stonava.

This issue was also discussed during the talks between the two plenipotentiaries last June. According to Czechoslovak information, the Stonava coking plant is supposed to replace two older plants in the same area, in Karvina and Ostrava. Operation of the two old plants will be discontinued; in the case of one of them, operation will be partially discontinued this year. Their joint output is approximately equal to that of the new plant, and the Czechoslovak side is of the opinion that an application of the most modern technological achievements should clearly reduce atmospheric waste in the Ostrava region, and that further progress will be achieved when natural gas is brought to Karvina and other places.

The minister also said that according to a statement by the CSSR Government plenipotentiary, the pollution produced by the Trinec steelworks is also falling as a result of technological advances. He said that Poland will raise the issue of the environmental burdens caused by existing and future plants on the Czechoslovak side at a meeting of working groups scheduled to take place in November.

Referring to the pollution of the Odra River in 1986, Minister Koziol recalled that on 1 April 1988, the Polish Foreign Ministry conveyed to the CSSR Embassy a diplomatic memorandum on the subject of compensation for the damage suffered by Poland. In August, the Polish side received an assurance that a Czechoslovak stance was being prepared. However, it has still not been presented. One can assume, said Minister Koziol, that the reason for the delay is the current reorganization of the authorities and state administration in the CSSR, and he gave an assurance that the matter would be raised again in the nearest future. [passage omitted]

In connection with the enormous losses incurred by the government because of the poor quality of goods, Deputy Krystyna Czubak (SD) asked what the government is doing to prevent industry from continuing to produce poor quality goods.

Mieczyslaw Wilczek, minister of industry, gave an assurance that both he and the government will make full use of the results of scientific investigations into the quality of goods. Previous administrative action and economic instruments meant to improve quality have not provided the expected results. The experience of other countries tells us that only competition and a balanced market provide sufficient encouragement for manufacturers to improve the quality of their products. The action taken by the ministry will be aimed at balancing out the market. At the same time, the instruments that influence quality will be improved, the system of assessing quantity and modernity will be changed, and sanctions for

poor quality will be sharpened. All forms of enterprise that guarantee market supplies of good, modern products will receive support. Enterprises will also be subjected to external investigations into the quality of their production.

Deputy Jerzy Surowiec (SD) asked whether the government intends to review the nuclear energy developn.ent program in Poland and abandon nuclear energy in favor of other energy sources and a reduced energy-intensiveness of industry.

Minister Wilczek replied that Poland occupies 19th place in Europe in terms of per capita energy output. Therefore the success of our economic and social plans depends on a better satisfaction of the demand for energy.

Originally, the development of nuclear energy was an economic and ecological necessity when it became clear that there were insufficient conventional energy resources for the future and that these resources were harmful to the environment, said Minister Wilczek. It is estimated that thanks to a rationalization of consumption, we will be able to save 70 million tonnes of so-called contracted fuel per year. Wherever possible, we will support the application of constant energy sources such as wind, water, and the earth's heat. However, these can only act as supplementary sources of energy, because they can only cover between 1 and 2.5 percent of general needs. Our energy needs for the period 2000-2020 will not be supplied by the abovementioned resources alone. Therefore, nuclear power stations are essential. They are an economic necessity and a condition for our country's development.

At the same time, Minister Wilczek continued, I wish to stress that at a time when we never thought about building nuclear power stations, many developed countries did just that, and today nuclear energy provides as much as 70 percent of their energy needs.

Deputy Emilia Wcislo (SD), asked what the Ministry of Industry and Ministry of Domestic Trade are going to do in order to permit small-scale enterprises to reap maximum advantage from the abolition of the restrictions on the procurement and processing of meat, milk, and agricultural produce as of 1989.

Marcin Nurowski, minister of domestic trade, shared Deputy Wcislo's view that small-scale enterprises should be allowed to take wide part in every kind of economic activity, including food processing. He said that the bill on economic activity that is currently in preparation is meant to eliminate all the barriers to the expansion of small-scale enterprises. This reflects the government's priorities concerning a development of the agricultural and food industry. Minister Nurowski did not deem it necessary to create a separate government structure to supervise small-scale production, because the entire present government is encouraging this very sector. But if the small-scale production sector wishes to have such a special structure to supervise it, the government will impose no obstacles.

Ceausescu Leaves for Working Visit to GDR

AU1711074788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0821 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/11/1988—RCP General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu left Bucharest in the morning of Thursday 17 November for the German Democratic Republic where he is paying a working visit at the invitation of the general secretary of the SUPG's Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State Erich Honecker.

The Romanian party and state leader is accompanied by Gheorghe Oprea, member of the CC of the RCP's Executive Political Committee, first deputy prime minister, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and other officials.

At 9.00 local time, the presidential aircraft took off from Bucharest's Otopeni Airport.

Palestinian National Council Decision Cited

AU1611202788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2016 GMT 16 Nov 88

["In Connection With the Decisions Made by the Palestinian National Council During Its Algiers Session—Statement of the Romanian News Agency AGERPRES"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/11/1988—The Romanian news agency AGERPRES is empowered to state the following:

The Romanian Government welcomes the decision the Palestinian National Council adopted during its session in Algiers in connection with the proclamation of the independent Palestinian state—Palestine, as well as the political declaration issued on the occasion, which expresses the wish to work for a political settlement of Middle East issues, in the spirit and on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council, and implicitly, the recognition of the existence of the State of Israel, in parallel with the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, to the creation of an independent state of its own.

Romania, which has consistently stated for a political solution to issues in that part of the world, considers that the decisions made in Algiers enhance the possibility of calling an international conference, under UN aegis, for a peaceful, global and lasting solution to Middle East issues.

Our country considers that under the current circumstances efforts should intensify more than ever before to call an international conference to be attended by all the sides concerned, including the PLO—as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—as well as Israel and the Security Council permanent members.

The Socialist Republic of Romania will further do its utmost for suchlike conferences to be called the soonest possible, considering it to be the only way conducive to a settlement of the issues in the area, so as to urgently put an end to the situation created by the occupation of Arab territories in the wake of the 1967 war and secure the Palestinian people's self-determination, its right to independent statehood.

Romania expresses its hope that every effort will be made by all the sides involved in conflict so that a political solution may be found in the Middle East to provide for the establishment of a durable, just peace in that region.

Presidential Decree on Ministerial Changes Reported

AU1611193588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1924 GMT 16 Nov 88

["For the record"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/11/1988—By presidential decree, Ion Radu was appointed deputy prime minister of Romania, being released from the office of chairman of the Central Council of Worker Control Over the Economic and Social Activity. Barbu Petrescu was released from the office of deputy prime minister.

By the same decree, Alexandru Rosu was appointed minister of machine building and Radu Paul Paunescu was released from that office.

Benefits of Socialist Ownership Emphasized

AU1511183188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1624 GMT 15 Nov 88

["Socialist Property as the Foundation of Economic Development"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 15/11/1988—The whole theoretical and practical activity of building the new social system in Romania relies upon the thesis that one cannot speak of a socialist economy if it is not based on the socialist ownership of the means of production that determines the new socio-economic nature of all the other economic and social relations coming into being in the process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of material assets and services, the position of the members of society, the system of social production and of management of the socio-economic activity.

By virtue of this thesis the RCP steadily worked for the development of socialist property, for the improvement of the forms of generating it.

Telling, in this respect, is the growth of the accumulated national wealth, from 330 billion lei in 1950 to some five trillion lei now. The decisive contribution in this respect was made by the period since the 9th Congress of the RCP in 1965, when some one third of the national

income was earmarked to socio-economic development. In that frame, greatly developed were the capital assets, worth over 3.2 trillion lei, of which over 2.5 trillion lei productive capital assets. As shown at the RCP National Conference of December 1987, every citizen of Romania, in his capacity as owner—together with the whole people—of the country's riches, is possessed of capital assets worth over 140,000 lei.

Qualitative changes were also wrought in the structure and quality of the object of socialist ownership of the means of production, as the share of the new and updated capital assets grows. Over 90 per cent of the capital assets operated now in economy are the fruit of the policy of socialist accumulation of the last 20 years. Such qualitative shifts were wrought especially in the most active part of the capital assets, materialized in machinery, installations, equipment, apparatus, mechanical and automated implements.

As seen by the RCP, the steady growth of the national wealth, of the capital assets first of all, based on the latest gains of science and technology, the equitable distribution of the national income remains the only way to raising the country onto new stages of progress and civilization, to strengthening the national sovereignty and independence. Following the earmarking in the current five-year period of an important share—some 30 per cent of the national income— to socialist accumulation, the value of the capital assets will reach at the end of the five-year period some 3.8 trillion lei, and the accumulated national wealth—about 5.5 trillion lei. Ample programs of investments and modernization of the production apparatus are being fulfilled, based on the promotion of technological and scientific progress.

The development of the socialist system is matched not only by the growth of the socially-owned national wealth but also by the improvement of its forms, of the relations among them, as well as of its mechanism of realization as social relation of production. As seen by the RCP, the improvement of these forms, and of the whole economic mechanism generally, must not be achieved by a relapse to various forms of private ownership or by diminishing the common property of the working people, but by its ever more powerful assertion. At the same time, the RCP took a firm stand as early as its national conference of 1967 against any tendency of counterposing the two forms of socialist ownership, state and cooperative, and especially the thesis that the cooperative ownership is an inferior form of socialist ownership, considering that both have a common socialist essence and neglecting either of them can only damage the general interests of socialist society. The close blending of the state socialist ownership with the cooperative one into a unitary whole of the national economy gives wide possibilities of rational employment of all material and human resources of society, allows for the steady growth of production, the ever better meeting of the working people's material and spiritual requirements.

The decisive role in the improvement of the forms of realizing socialist ownership as a social relation of production in Romania was played by the measures of institutionalization of self-management, as a principle and form by which the working people participate directly or by representation in the endorsement of the decisions regarding the socio-economic activity and are fully responsible for the proper operation, administration and development of the unit where they are producers and owners. At the same time, the institutionalization of economic and financial self-management ensures the necessary means and economic levers for the exercising of the worker self-management and establishes a direct relation between the possibilities of development of the economic unit, of increasing the working people's incomes and the results scored in the plan fulfilment and with the efficiency of the funds administration.

The legislation in 1982 of the working people's partaking with social shares in the development fund, as well as their partaking in profits, consolidates the link between the participants in the social production and the socialist property. According to the instituted principle, the working people, besides their position as collective owners of the part of the whole people's property entrusted for administration in the respective enterprise, also acquire the position of direct owners, through the participation with social shares, of a part of the value of fixed assets belonging to the respective enterprise.

Revolutions in Historical Principalities Reviewed
AU1111205188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2009 GMT 11 Nov 88

["Social and National Liberation—Fundamental Goals of the 1784 and 1821 Revolutions—Article by Ladislau Gyemant, 'SCINTEIA' of 11 November"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 11/11/1988—The fight for national and social liberation, the formation of nations and the crystallization of the awareness of one's own national identity are essential components of the history of the peoples in central, eastern and south-eastern Europe in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. Integrating into this general process, the Romanians in the three principalities, separated by political frontiers imposed by historical circumstances, but unitary from the point of view of fundamental economic, social and spiritual elements that condition the evolution towards the new national framework, worked out a political programme the implementation of which was to guarantee their free, self-reliant development freed from the bonds of the anachronic feudal realities.

Beyond this general strategic goal, the movement of emancipation in the three Romanian principalities formulated desiderata specific to each stage and function of specific conditions characteristic of the given historical situation. Thus, the recognition as a nation with equal

rights within the constitutional frame of the principality and the liquidation of the medieval system that excluded the Romanian majority of the inhabitants from the political life of the country were foremost goals for the Transylvanian Romanian. Conceptualized in a coherent and clear form by Inochente Micu in the first half of the 18th century, the political programme of the Transylvanian Romanians fully crystallizes in the "Supplex" movement of 1790-1792 which crowns the whole evolution towards the assertion of the modern national consciousness throughout the 18th century.

Concomitantly, the peasantry, that made up the great majority of the Romanian people in Transylvania, waged its fight against the oppressive and anachronic system of serfdom which aggravated in the 18th century. The peasantry's fight for its rights sees the highlight in the 18th century in the great uprising in the fall of 1784 led by Horea, Closca and Crisan. Breaking out five years before the French revolution, that movement of large European reverberation that took place in the specific conditions of Transylvania, raises through its programme, in a form characteristic of the peasants' outlook, the all-European problem of liquidating the anachronic system of feudal privileges.

Concomitantly with the social problems arising are those concerning the organization of the principality as a Romanian land, the ideas circulating at that time regarding the asking of support from Moldavia and Wallachia being expressions of a national solidarity that goes beyond the political frontiers of the epoch.

In Wallachia and Moldavia the main goal of the movement of national emancipation in the 18th century was the liberation from Ottoman domination and the winning of political independence, a first step being the liquidation of the Phanariot regime established at the beginning of the century, which meant a violation of political autonomy through the system of rulers directly appointed by the Porte. The removal of Phanariot princes and the restoration of the country's right to elect rulers for life goes hand in hand with the restoration of the territorial integrity of the principalities through the restitution of the occupied towns on the Danube, the diminution of the material obligations to the Porte, and other claims concerning the international status of the principalities, as well as a programme of domestic reforms meant to modernize the institutional structure.

Partial results regarding the alleviation and regulation of the regime of Ottoman domination, the limitation of foreign interference in the affairs of the Romanian principalities are registered at the end of the 18th century and in the first decades of the 19th century following the endeavours of the national movement in Moldavia and Wallachia. Achievements of genuinely crucial importance for the future of the Romanian principalities are scored only when the two planes of the fight merge in 1821 into the revolution of social and national character led by Tudor Vladimirescu.

The 1821 revolution set itself the removal of the oppressive foreign domination, the regaining of the country's legitimate rights, the distribution of landlords' and monasteries' land, the abolition of privileges, institutional modernization and reorganization, the creation of the national army. The reverberation in Transylvania of this programme and of the fight for its implementation was not accidental. The call to common fight was also launched to the Romanians in Wallachia and Moldavia.

Taking place against the broader international background of the fight for national and social liberation of the peoples in south-eastern Europe, and despite the tragic death of its leader, the 1821 revolution had highly significant effects for the subsequent evolution of both that part of the continent and the three Romanian principalities. The liquidation of the Phanariot regime and the restoration of native rules were important steps forward to the complete elimination of foreign domination in that part of the world and to the attainment of the goals of the Romanian national emancipation.

Soviet Minister Yazov Seen Off by Kadijevic

LD1611143988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 16 Nov 88

[TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1613 GMT on 16 November transmits the following "notice to editorial boards" concerning the following item:

"We are withdrawing the news item entitled 'Yazov Visiting Dubrovnik.' Do not use it."]

[Text] Dubrovnik, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister, who has been leading a delegation of the Soviet Armed Forces on an official, friendly visit to our country and our Armed Forces, today left Yugoslavia. At Cilipi Airport in Dubrovnik, the eminent guest from the friendly socialist country was seen off with military honors by his host, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, and his colleagues. During its stay in Dubrovnik, the Soviet Armed Forces delegation viewed the cultural and historical sights of this ancient and beautiful tourist city.

Immediately upon leaving our country, Gen Yazov stated that he was satisfied with the results of the visit to the SFRY. We hope, he said, that the meetings and talks with our Yugoslav comrades will effectively serve to strengthen our military cooperation. The roots of this cooperation are deep and historical. It begins with the glorious traditions of our wartime comradeship, during our common struggle against fascism, said Gen Yazov.

Government Recognizes Palestinian State

LD1611172188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1453 GMT 16 Nov 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—As officially learned in Belgrade today, Yugoslavia is joining countries which recognize the just proclaimed Palestinian state.

Such a decision, with regard to Yugoslavia's consistent support to the just cause of the Palestinian people, was anticipated.

Presidency Recognizes State

LD1611202788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1746 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) today recognized the State of Palestine.

In view of the declaration of the Palestinian National Council [PNC] issued at its session in Algiers two days ago, the Yugoslav Presidency started from respecting the U.N. Charter principle of each nation's right to self-determination and independence and accepting all U.N. General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on a lasting, comprehensive and just solution to the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian question.

The Yugoslav Presidency expressed the deep conviction that the PNC decision corresponds to long standing justified strivings and legitimate right of the Palestinian people to create its own state on national soil and that the decision will positively reflect itself on the efforts towards finding a comprehensive solution to the Middle East crisis by convening an international PNC conference on the Middle East.

The solution also precludes [as received] the right of all peoples and states in the region to an independent, secure and peaceful development, which is a pre-condition for their prosperity, as the Yugoslav Presidency underscored.

At a session of the Federal Assembly earlier today, the spokesman of Premier Mikulic's government assessed that all usual international conditions existed for the Palestinian state to become a subject of international law and recalled that the preconditions were—the existence of territory, the autochthon population and the independent execution [word indistinct].

Dizdarevic Congratulates 'Arafat

LD1711032088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2211 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic sent a telegram of cordial congratulations on behalf of the Presidency to Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) President Yasir 'Arafat on the succesful special session of the Palestine National Council (PNC) in Algiers and the adoption of the declaration of an independent Palestinian state.

The telegram said the PNC decision was an extremely important step in its decades-long struggle to achieve the legitimate tendencies and unalienable rights and a stimulation to opening a peace process in the Middle East, for a just and lasting solution to the Middle Eastern crisis and Palestinian question, by convening an international peace conference.

Trade With Bulgaria Termed 'Unsatisfactory'

AU1011150088 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Trade between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, which is worth $350 million annually, is unsatisfactory. However, the favorable fact is that economic relations between the two neighboring countries are stable. This was stressed at yesterday's talks between Milan Pavic, president of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber, and Belcho Belchev, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Controversy on Stanovnik U.S. Remarks Continues

TANJUG Defends Report on Visit

LD1611120688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2148 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—The letter to the SFRY Presidency, which the Presidency of the SR of Serbia today made available to the public, concerning recent statements made in the United States by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, says among other things that it is "incomprehensible that the TANJUG agency has not acquainted the Yugoslav and international public in greater detail with its assessments and reactions" to those statements.

In this connection, the TANJUG editorial body believes it necessary to issue the following statement:

Through its correspondent in Washington, TANJUG has informed the Yugoslav and international public about Stanovnik's unofficial visit to the United States, his meetings with Secretary of State George Shultz in Washington, his news conference at the National Press Club, as well as his speech to the World Affairs Council.

It is true that our correspondent did not immediately send a complete report on Stanovnik's speeches, as he bore in mind the private nature of the visit. However, this is also because he was not able to immediately acquire the tape recordings or a shorthand report. We would also like to point out that our correspondent was at that time occupied with the U.S. presidential election.

It is not TANJUG's practice to have its correspondent give "his assessment" of the statements made by our officials on such occasions, and this was, therefore, not done with Stanovnik's statements either.

The Yugoslav public and Yugoslav leaderships have, after all, been informed of the contents of Stanovnik's speeches first and only through TANJUG. The moment the first reports on these speeches were received, TANJUG published them through its relevant services. Immediately after that we asked our correspondent in Washington to send us the full texts and, if possible, the tape recordings of both of Stanovnik's speeches in Washington.

In other words, while unaware of the letter of the Presidency of the Serbian SR, TANJUG acquired Janez Stanovnik's complete speeches in the shortest possible time, translated them, and immediately transmitted them as unauthorized texts in full to the public. It surprises us, therefore, that this fact is ignored in the statement issued today by the session of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia.

It was only through TANJUG that the Yugoslav public was able to acquire information about everything that Stanovnik said in Washington.

Bearing this in mind, we believe that there are no grounds for censuring TANJUG. This is incomprehensible to us.

Presidency Discusses Affair

LD1711003388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2122 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—In his statements while in the United States, Comrade Janez Stanovnik made some unacceptable claims and assessments, with harmful political consequences, on the general situation in the country, on the policy of the leadership of the SR of Serbia, on individual, very senior leading personalities of this republic, and some other phenomena and internal relations in Yugoslavia, a communique from today's session of the SFRY Presidency says. The text of the communique states:

The SFRY Presidency at today's session chaired by President Raif Dizdarevic considered the content and consequences of some of the statements by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, on the occasion of some of his public statements during his recent private stay in the United States. It also considered the letter which the Serbian Pesidency sent in this connection to the SFRY Presidency, and the communique from the Serbian Presidency session on 15 November.

The SFRY Presidency on 8 November carried out an exchange of opinions on the statements by the president of the Slovene Presidency while in the United States and concluded that before adopting definitive stances it will await the requested authentic texts of these statements. The SFRY Presidency at a session on 9 November decided that at the next session on 16 November it would consider the statements by Comrade Stanovnik and assess their consequences, the communique says.

At today's session of the SFRY Presidency it was stated that in his statements while in the United States Comrade Janez Stanovnik made some unacceptable claims and assessments, with harmful poltical consequences, on the general situation in the country, on the policy of the leadership of the SR of Serbia, on individual, very senior leading personalities of this republic, and on some other phenomena and internal relations in Yugoslavia.

It was also noted that Comrade Janez Stanovnik made similar remarks in the interview he granted to THE NEW YORK TIMES as early as 15 October.

The SFRY Presidency deems it unacceptable that very responsible state officials of our country should make such statements while abroad or for foreign consumption, whether in their official or private capacity, on

internal disputes and differences within the political leadership. Such statements are incompatible with the commitments with which every person discharging the most responsible state functions has and must comply with during his stay and in his public statements abroad. To deviate from this causes serious political damage to the reputation of our country and its international interests and gives rise to negative consequences concerning the situation and relations in the country.

The SFRY Presidency judged that in some of his statements Comrade Janez Stanovnik erred against these principles.

The statements by Comrade Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, caused dismay in the SR of Serbia and in other parts of our country.

The SFRY Presidency noted on several occasions that the country's unity, which is the essential condition for the stabilization of the political and economic situation and further social progress, can be built not on the deepening of differences and political exclusivities but rather on reciprocal trust, the establishment of a joint platform on a democratic basis, and an open and specific settlement of joint problems and of those which emerge in the mutual relations of its parts. An important condition for this is that no one should give cause for the public fanning of polemics and conflicts which encourage the exacerbation of relations in the country and which have a particularly unfavorable impact on the state of interethnic relations, which is what happened on this occasion between the SR of Serbia and the SR of Slovenia. A portion of Janez Stanovnik's statements in the United States has contributed to the renewed fomenting of public clashes and political tension.

The SFRY Presidency stresses once again the responsibility of the leaderships of the republics and autonomous provinces for the political situation and relations not only in their environments but throughout the country. It asks them, with their activity and in the common interests of the country, to contribute to overcoming the disputes and conflicts in order to secure unity of action for a way out of the political and economic crisis and to make it possible for the country to develop and progress.

The SFRY Presidency believes that the assessments and stances adopted by the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia about this case during its session on 15 November 1988 are not adequate considering the gravity and consequences of the statements by Comrade Janez Stanovnik.

The SFRY Presidency also considered the involvement of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in connection with Comrade Janez Stanovnik's stay in the United States and established that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs acted in accordance with established practice in questions of unofficial visits to other countries by personalities with a prominent state or other political function. In such circumstances the normal platforms for talks are not envisaged, but rather only consultations on possible topics with the leadership of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the ambassador. This action was applied.

The Presidency, in accepting the report of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, judged that there is no basis for raising the question of its responsibility.

The SFRY Presidency also considered all the facts in connection with the involvement of the SFRY Embassy and ambassador in Washington in the framework of its normal practice. It gave instructions to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs to summon the SFRY ambassador in Washington for talks, so that on this occasion there may be critical consideration of all the aspects of the activity of the embassy and the ambassador in this case.

The SFRY Presidency was acquainted with the talks of Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, with George Shultz, secretary of state. Starting from our interest that competent Yugoslav personalities in their contact with other states contribute to the appraisal of our policy and thus also to respect for our country, the Presidency judged that this unofficial exchange of views was useful and constituted a part of the broader Yugoslav-U.S. dialogue which contributes to mutual understanding and the improvement of cooperation.

In connection with the letter from the Presidency of the SR of Serbia on Comrade Janez Stanovnik's statements in the United States, the SFRY Presidency stresses that any communication from the presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces receives full attention. It acted thus on this occasion, too.

The SFRY Presidency received with surprise the publication of the statement by the Presidency of the SR of Serbia and of the content of the letter immediately before discussing it at the SFRY Presidency session, especially as the president of the SFRY Presidency as early as 9 November had informed the president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia that the SFRY Presidency had convened a session for 16 November, and that the agenda included a discussion of the substance and consequences of the statements by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, while in the United States, as well as the letter of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia in this connection. This was repeated also during the conversation on 15 November, prior to the session of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia.

Considering all that was done, the SFRY Presidency judged that the criticism by the Presidency of the SR of Serbia of the SFRY Presidency, contained in its statement on its session, is without any foundation and is thus unacceptable. The SFRY Presidency rejects this sort of method and political action because they are not in keeping with the nature of cooperation between the SFRY Presidency and the presidences of the republics

and autonomous provinces. On the contrary, they give rise to misunderstandings and create mistrust, says the statement issued at the session of the SFRY Presidency.

Ljubicic on Stanovnik, Envoy Actions

LD1111034688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Bajina Basta, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—Nikola Ljubicic, a member of the SFRY Presidency, and Desimir Jevtic, president of the Serbian Executive Council, together with representatives of the Titovo Uzice region and the Bajina Basta municipality, today visited the Tara basic organization of associated labor, which is part of Sloboda, Cacak, and also the ball-bearings factory. They also held talks with the economic and political aktiv of the Bajina Basta municipality. [passage omitted]

Nikola Ljubicic also took part in the talks and devoted the largest part of his report to the 17th LCY Central Committee session and to responsibility. He stressed: Our country is going through a stormy and complex period, which has also contributed to the economic situation. The 17th LCY Central Committee session proposed and announced a certain move toward seeking solutions to the Kosovo problem and calming relations within the country. This session, according to Ljubicic, had a stabilizing effect on overall events in Yugoslavia, including economic ones. In discussing responsibility, Ljubicic stressed: Through responsibility in our workplaces, we are all responsible for the development of our republics and also of the country as a whole. We should know each other better in order to fully understand responsibility and the situation in Yugoslavia. some of our people know Japan and the United States better than our country or some of its parts. There must be joint concern for the development of Yugoslavia. The conclusions of the 17th session are clear and they should be thoroughly studied and implemented by the basic LC organizations and the LC municipal committees. All leadership from work organizations and municipalities to republics and the federation bear responsibility for the part of a job they carry out. However, responsibility cannot be restricted just to that part of the job because none of us in this country live isolated and on our own. We must bear responsibility for our individual duties and also for the country as a whole. We talk a great deal about responsibility, stressed Ljubicic, but very little has been achieved in this field. Responsible people escape responsibility by protecting themselves behind forums. Leading people should be called to account before the bodies that elected them, but also before the citizens. The working class has demanded the establishment of responsibility, and this is a good thing. It is a new quality. However, it would be good if the working class would raise the question of price increases and of technological processes so that more work is done.

Speaking about the situation in Kosovo, Ljubicic stressed the encouraging effect of the joint session of the Presidiums of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee at which it was decided to first of all examine personal responsibility so that individuals can no longer take shelter behind collective responsibility. If good people, Communists, and good Communist-Albanians are found in Kosovo and such people take the lead and launch an effort, the situation there will be more rapidly improved.

In conclusion, Ljubicic dwelt on the recent statement of Janez Stanovnik in the United States: It is difficult for me to explain irresponsible statements by responsible people, said Ljubicic. SFRY Presidency member Nikola Ljubicic made the following comment on Janez Stanovnik's statements while the latter was in the United States: The statement by Janez Stanovnik, who in such a way assesses other republics and people, is both strange and ambiguous. He will have to provide an explanation, said Ljubicic. The SFRY Presidency has asked for the original records and will invite Stanovnik to explain his statement when the records are received. Also impermissible is the behavior of our ambassador in the United States, who organized the visit and accompanied him without warning us about it in time, so that we had to learn about it from the information media. Measures will be taken, he specified, against both Stanovnik and Ambassador Zivorad Kovacevic. Bearing all this in mind, we must not allow the development of anti-Slovene sentiments because the Slovene people cannot be held responsible for Janez Stanovnik's statements. These are his personal statements and, in the words of Ljubicic, he must be personally accountable for them.

Officials React to Stanovnik Remarks

LD1711004188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia said today that what a part of the Yugoslav press has written about statements made by its President Janez Stanovnik during his recent private visit to the U.S. accounts for an extremely tendentious campaign against Stanovnik and even against the Slovene political leadership.

The Slovene leadership, at its session last night, stressed that it made this assessment after going through the shorthand notes of Stanovnik's statements.

It is possible to argue about some of Stanovnik's stands and evaluations, the leadership says in its announcement, but anti-socialist, anti-Serbian, and anti-Yugoslav contents or intentions may not be attributed to his statements as a whole.

Strong disapproval in the country, especially in Serbia, was expressed towards Stanovnik's statements in the U.S. about Yugoslav officials' having last month prevented the outbreak of a civil war which might have been induced by demonstrations touched off by inflation and

Serbian nationalism. Stanovnik then accused Serbian party chief Slobodan Milosevic of purges and proclaimed that the Serbian press was non-democratic.

Different views, however, are maintained by deputies at the Yugoslav Assembly who asked the federal government today whether the contents of Stanovnik's statements in the U.S. was in harmony with the pursuing of Yugoslavia's unified foreign policy. In assessing that Stanovnik's statements deceived the world public as regards the situation in Yugoslavia, and that they accounted for a drastic attack on the country's unity, the deputies sought that the federal government and its Foreign Ministry should give answers by this week-end as to a platform from which Stanovnik had held talks in the U.S. The government and the Foreign Ministry should also assess the responsibility of the Yugoslav Embassy in the U.S., and separately that of Ambassador Zivorad Kovacevic.

The state Presidency of Yugoslavia, now in session, will also take its stand today towards Stanovnik's responsibility.

Transformation of LCY, SAWPY Necessary

LD1711031588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0122 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—The transformation in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and the reform of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY), a mass socio-political organization, are mutually dependent, was said at a joint session of two countries [as received] of the LCY Central Committee Presidency here today.

Both organizations must completely free themselves from all ideological myths and taboos, Franc Setinc, a recent party presidency member who resigned from the post, said in his introductory address.

Setinc expects the SAWPY to adopt a new form of creative and polemic dialogue, which will not deal with "only what we (in the LCY) want to hear." Speaking about the spontaneous social movements which are appearing in certain parts of the country, especially in the Republic of Slovenia, he said that party members must be able to listen to people who "do not think as we do."

At the debate it was said that the transmission role of the SAWPY is the result of the party's fear of a pluralism of ideas.

Socialist Alliance top leadership member Nenad Bucin warned that the SAWPY is falling apart and that the LCY should not allow this.

Former top party official Jure Bilic said that SAWPY should be free from state and party guardianship to act "in favour of all people who are for socialism," be it different from the present one, if they think that the present form of socialism "failed the trails of history." Bilic also expressed concern over the latest events in Slovenia and Serbia.

According to Bilic, the creating of various alliances and alternative organizations in Slovenia (especially the Alliance of Slovenian Peasants and the Democratic Alliance of the Reasonable) indicates possibilities for creating conditions for a multi-party system.

He wondered if the Serbian leadership will be able to control the scope of the mass movement in this republic which, he said, "has a rational core," but also certain characteristics of being disorganized.

Bilic, however, said he was certain that the Slovenian and Serbian leaderships "will have the strength to determine the limits of the demands being made in their republics."

Federal Chamber Favors Changes to Economic Laws

LD1611220688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2011 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber, one of the two houses of the Yugoslav Assembly, today gave support to working texts of a number of systemic laws which should enable Yugoslavia's transfer to market oriented economy and economic operations from the start of next year.

Federal Chamber delegates set December 7 as the deadline to the federal government to submit to the federal parliament final law proposals in order that they may be adopted by the end of the year.

Out of 19 prepared working versions of the law on the implementation of the economic reform, the federal parliament is to adopt nine by new year when operations under new economic conditions should start.

Delegates have accepted the federal government's proposal that the laws should be adopted under a summary procedure since the deadline for major changes in the Yugoslav economic system is very near.

Besides the law on banks and financial organisations and the law on the basis of the system of social planning, the delegates' attention focused on the draft law on enterprises which defines the position of economic subjects in Yugoslavia.

The law on enterprises was unanimously assessed as very important. As one of the participants in the discussion stressed, the deregulation of social relations, the independence of enterprises, especially real responsibility for the operation, going to the liquidation of unsuccessful firms, which the new law envisages, represent revolutionary changes.

Vrhovec Violates Constitution by Holding Post

AU1611155488 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 88 p 11

[Unattributed report: "President of Student Games Organizational Committee Violates SFRY Constitution"]

[Text] Josip Vrhovec, member of the SFRY Presidency, was not long ago president of the Zagreb Student Games Organizational Committee. Many people point out that he should not have accepted the post as the top man of the Student Games for the very reason that he is a member of the SFRY Presidency. These persons quote Article 326 of the SFRY Constitution, which says the following: "A member of the SFRY Presidency must not perform any self-managing, public, or any other social function apart from functions in sociopolitical organizations, nor can he perform any other professional activity."

National Strike Statistics Contained in Study

LD1511135888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Summary] Belgrade, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—During the last year in Yugoslavia 1,685 strikes were organized. Almost 300,000 workers participated in them, which is 4.3 percent of all employees in Yugoslavia. These figures are given in a study by the Belgrade political sciences department on the causes of strikes. These were submitted today at the session of the Presidium of the Belgrade City Trade Union Council.

Oil Association Announces Gas Price Increase

LD1211030288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0015 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, November 11 (TANJUG)—The price of gasoline and other petroleum products went up as of midnight tonight, the Association of Oil Industry of Yugoslvaia announced.

One liter of super will cost 1,730 (one U.S. dollar is 4,083 dinars).

Although the price of imported oil has dropped, the rise in the price of petroleum products is the result of the drop of the value of the dinar in relation to the U.S. dollar, the announcement said.

As of September 10, the purchase of oil dropped from 130.43 to 124.32 dollars/ton, i.e. 4.68 percent. However, the value of the dinar fell by 31.45 percent during the same period and thus the Yugoslav refineries lost money by importing oil. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Leadership To Meet 17 Nov on Officials

LD1611203488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, Nov 16 (TANJUG)—The party leadership of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo will meet tomorrow to discuss the question of its Presidency's responsibility for the difficult political situation in the province, in which the activities of the Albanian separatists have not abated in the past eight years.

The local public awaits the session with great interest. The current and former leaders of the Kosovo party, Kacusa Jasari and Azem Vlasi, are expected to be taken to task at the session, which has already been postponed once.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) plenum in October came to the conclusion that the provincial party leadership was the most responsible for the unabating counter-revolution in Kosovo and the continuing migrations of Serbs and Montenegrns under pressure by Albanian separatists.

Jasari and Vlasi were taken to task at a joint session of the party leaderships of Kosovo and the Republic of Serbia, part of which is the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, earlier this month. A large number of communal party committees in Kosovo demanded their resignations in the past few days.

Opinions are divided on whether the two key Kosovo politicians will turn in their resignations tomorrow. While some claim that it is a "sure thing", others are much more cautious in making predictions.

One thing is, however, certain. The Kosovo party leadership will tomorrow have to take a stand on the already turned in resignations of its Presidency members Uros Seslija, Milan Gvozdic, Ekrem Arifi, Rahman Dedaje and Secretary of the Provincial Committee Vojislav Zajic. It is assessed that the resignations will be adopted, but the possibility is not ruled out that a discussion on the responsibility of provincial party leadership members will be opened.

The controversial quality of tomorrow's party plenum is very well illustrated by last night's party organization meeting in a Gnjilane primary school, from which the Serbian and Montenegrin teachers demonstratively walked out after it was decided that the school party organization should send a telegram of support to the provincial party leadership.

The Yugoslav party leadership yesterday noted the necessity of consistently implementing the conclusions of the 9th, 16th and 17th federal party plenums on establishing concrete and individual ideologico-political responsibilities and personnel changes of the Kosovo party leadership.

In an announcement issued after today's session, the Central Committee Presidency of the League of Communists of Serbia expressed the convicton that the Kosovo party leadership will "find the strength and resoluteness to ... elect a leadership of the provincial committee, which will be led by people prepared to pursue a policy of definitively breaking the counterrevolution in Kosovo, with the support of the majority of Albanians, Serbs, Montengrins and other peoples".

Jasari Proposes Own Ouster From Office

LD1711114188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee believes that Kacusa Jasari should be released from the post of president of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, while at the same time remaining a member of this executive-political organ. This Presidium proposal was put forward today by Kacusa Jasari herself in an introductory speech at today's session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

Despite the fact that in her present post Kacusa Jasari has shown full initiative, she nevertheless bears objective responsibility for the overall situation, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium states in its proposal to be discussed today by the members of the provincial committee. The circumstances have been aggrevated by the fact that because she has acted in conditions of exacerbating overall political relations and the situation in Kosovo and the country as a whole, the effects of invested efforts have been minimized.

Jasari Calls For Vlasi's Dismissal

LD1711114688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1105 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Under the cadre renewal criteria adopted at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, Azem Vlasi cannot continue, in his capacity as a member of the LCY Central Committee, his professional work in the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. He should therefore be relieved of office. This was said bv Kacusa Jasari in a proposal by the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee at today's session of the provincial committee.

The proposal is not aimed at prejudging the outcome of the work by the working group formed at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee with the task of establishing facts about Vlasi's possible responsibility. The Presidium is proceeding from the fact that in its action the Kosovo LC will continue to need Azem Vlasi's political involvement. His professional and work involvement should therefore be in line with criteria which do not question his membership in the LCY Central Committee, Kacusa Jasari said.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee should, Kacusa Jasari stressed, make its assessment of both Azem Vlasi and other members of the Presidium.

Kosovo Miners To March To Support LC Body

AU1711133388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina—The chairman of the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee has informed the provincial committee that over 1,000 miners of the Trepca Stari Trg mine departed for Pristina this morning with the intention, as was explained, to extend support to the provincial committee.

The provincial committee Presidium decided to send a delegation headed by Kosovo Presidency President Remzi Koljgeci to speak with the miners there. All suggestions and demands by the miners will be heard, and if the miners so desire, the complete provincial committee Presidium, as well as the Serbian and Yugoslav party leaderships, will attend the talks at Titova Mitrovica after the provincial committee session concludes.

March to Pristina Begins 17 Nov

LD1711130988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—This morning about 1,500 miners from the Trepca Stari Trg mine, near Titova Mitrovica, which employs Albanian nationals, left for Pristina. Carrying Tito's picture and banners, they stopped first in the town center. They did not accept the invitation from the municipal leaders to go into the sports hall, and they also refused to continue their journey to Pristina by bus. Instead, their column, which was joined by some workers from the Elektroliza and Akumulatori Trepca basic organizations of associated labor, continued the journey to Pristina on foot. They stressed that their intention was to give support to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee so that it can work without any pressure. They also expressed their dissatisfaction with the recent statement by Branko Miladinovic during a session of the Council of the Federation of Serbian Trade Unions, when he said that the largest counterrevolutionary force in Kosovo lies within the working class.

Belgrade SAWP Statement on Solidarity Meeting

AU1711132688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 88 p 5

[Text of the Belgrade SAWP's proclamation on the solidarity meeting scheduled for 19 November in Belgrade]

[Text] We invite all citizens, workers, war veterans, intelligentsia, students, pupils, patriots, and all those who are oriented toward socialist self-managing Yugoslavia to attend the meeting of "brotherhood and unity."

Let us express our resoluteness for the worker-class policy of the LCY; let us take part in the struggle of the LC of Serbia together with all those who care for Yugoslavia and whose aim is the power of the workers class. Let us carry out all three reforms: the economic, social, and the reform of the LCY. The reforms are our revolution, which carries a better future for the workers class and youth, and for all the citizens of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

It is high time to score a victory over the counterrevolution in Kosovo. Let us fight for justice, the law, and the security of all citizens in Kosovo. This is our most sacred duty. Through the power of all of us, through the power of brotherhood and unity, our orientation, and our activity and tradition, we will break the counterrevolution and terror of Albanian separatism and all other forms of chauvinism. This task can only be accomplished by the people who are oriented toward socialism. Responsibility for this should also be borne by all the members of the Albanian nationality who are Yugoslav-oriented, by those who honestly and decently contribute to the joint life in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. Our strength lies in humaneness, work, and creativeness, Tito's resoluteness, and the wish to preserve and strengthen the SFRY. We want a Yugoslavia without terror and genocide, without the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, a Yugoslavia which guarantees freedom, life, peace, family, and a home for everyone.

Two-million-persons-strong Belgrade, which is a city rich with revolutionary thinking and activity, has proved itself through wars, revolutions, and the development period as the city of all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Belgrade, whose symbol is the statue of a victor, is a hero city which has been creating new, humane values throughout its history. This obliges us to carry the flag of freedom and unity with even more resoluteness. We know and want that.

We will resolve Kosovo, we will change the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, and we will implement reforms!

There is no other way but to succeed!

Only the people can be called to account before the court of history, and the leadership is accountable to the people!

Long live the united SR of Serbia!

Long live the SFRY!

Long live brotherhood and unity!

Belgrade SAWP, Belgrade, 15 November 1988

Preparations for Meeting Completed

AU1711120088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 88 p 5

["B.O."-signed report: "Well-Intentioned Welcome"]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Nov—The "brotherhood and unity" meeting will be opened with the sounds of the national anthem "Hey Slavs" at the confluence of the Sava and Danube Rivers in Belgrade at exactly 1200 on 19 November. The capital city will open its gates wide to all well-intentioned guests who want to attend what is assumed to be the largest rally held up to this point, and to express their solidarity with the disenfranchised Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and their support for the progressive forces which are fighting for changes.

In addition to the citizens of Belgrade, who will largely arrive in organized groups, the meeting at the confluence will also be attended, as has already been announced, by the citizens of Novi Sad, Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Lucani, Zitiste, Kosovo Polje, and Ruma. It is expected that more than 1 million people will gather together.

"We will not allow some individuals and groups to cast a shadow on the citizens' noble wishes, because it is obvious that some people want to hear them. [sentence as published] Belgrade will once again demonstrate its hospitality and dignity," Hristoljub Mitic said at today's session of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference Presidium, which adopted a proclamation which represents the political platform of the "brotherhood and unity" meeting.

A large number of citizens from all over the country applied to the SAWP City Conference, expressing the wish to speak at the meeting. It will be impossible to meet the wishes of all citizens, because the meeting is envisaged to last up to 2 hours. Aleksandar Bakocevic, the mayor of Belgrade, stressed that those who are going to speak will be not only politicians, but also people from the associated labor, education, and science sectors.

All the preparations for the Belgrade meeting to go smoothly have already been completed. On Saturday, Belgrade will be decorated as it is for a state holiday. The dais, which will not be removed after the meeting, will be decorated with a picture of Tito and the state, republican, and party flags. There will be 12 towers carrying loudspeakers, two temporary hospitals, ambulances, and three press tents.

The trains from Kosovo and Vojvodina will arrive at the new Belgrade railroad station. The assembly of citizens at the confluence is expected to last from 0700 to 1100.

Serbia Appoints Group To Attend Kosovo Meeting

LD1611205988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1659 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium decided at today's session that Secretary of the Presidium Zoran Sokolovic should attend tomorrow's meeting of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

"Today's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, chaired by Slobodan Milosevic, considered the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session on the establishment of specific and individual responsibility, differentiation, and cadre renewal in the Presidium and the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC," the communique on today's session says. "In order to establish as clearly as possible individual responsibility, the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium decided to acquaint the Presidium and Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC with the conclusions of today's session. For this purpose a working group of the Serbian LC Central Committee, led by Zoran Sokolovic, has been appointed. During the day it will travel to Pristina to the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and take part in the work of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee which is being held tomorrow."

The communique adds that "the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium stresses its conviction that the Presidium and Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, on the basis of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session and the joint session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Provincial Committee Presidium, will have the force and resolution to elect in ideological and political differentiation a provincial committee leadership led by people who are competent and are prepared to help carry out, with the aid of the support of most Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others, a policy of the definitive smashing of the counterrevolution in Kosovo and the creation of conditions for the policy of brotherhood and unity, national equality, and cooperation to be implemented successfully in the period ahead. This is something which would also mean the initiation of the more resolute creation of the united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, and others as the bases of the joint struggle for a peaceful life in the future," the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium stresses, adding that it will persistently insist on this.

The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium today adopted a decision on a 35-percent reduction in the membership fee in the Serbian LC. This is the third reduction in the membership fee this year, which amounts to 4-82 percent, depending on the level of personal income.

Pensions in Serbia To Increase in Nov, Dec

LD1711001988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1232 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—Pensions in Serbia will rise 10 percent in November and 11.6 percent in December. This was decided at today's session of the Assembly of the Republican Community of Interests for Pensions and Disabled Insurance. [passage omitted]

Electricity Prices in Serbia Increase 31 Percent

LD1511131188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Summary] Belgrade, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—The price of electricity in Serbia is going up by 31 percent today. A decision to this effect was passed by the workers council of the associated electricity industry, which obviously refused to heed trade union appeals to postpone this increase.

New Vojvodina President, Secretary Profiled

LD1511140388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1805 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Novi Sad, November 14 (TANJUG)—The new president of the Presidency of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists (LC) of Vojvodina is Bosko Kovacevic, 42, and the new secretary is Miodrag Koprivica, 37.

The members of the Presidency of Yugoslavia's northern province of Vojvodina chose between two candidates for the highest party office. Nine of the eleven members voted by secret ballot for Kovacevic and ten voted for Koprivica.

Kovacevic, a Serb, holds a degree in politicology and before he was elected Vojvodina LC Presidency president, was Subotica LC Communal Committee Presidency president. He played an active role in the economic and cultural renaissance of Subotica, Vojvodina's second largest town.

Koprivica is a Montenegrin, a politicologist and was previously executive secretary of the provincial leadership.

The party leadership of the Province of Vojvodina, a part of the Republic of Serbia, had to resign on October 6 under pressure from around 200,000 demonstrators and this was unprecedented in Yugoslavia's post-war history.

A special session of the LC provincial committee concluded that the leadership's policy had been autonomist and against the changes in the republican Constitution, and that it had acted against the interests of the people through its bureaucratic and demagogic policy. Some followers of the old policy in some of the 50 provincial communities also had to resign.

Vojvodina's new LC leadership will be in office only one month, until December 20 when a special conference of the LC of Vojvodina is scheduled to take place and at which complete cadre changes will be carried out.

At its first session today, the Vojvodina LD Presidency said that besides the three reforms-economic, political and party-the LC of Vojvodina will have to implement a fourth one-to correct the mistakes of its former policy.

Macedonian Leadership Views 'Complex' Situation
LD1711032888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1843 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Skopje, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—The political-security situation in the SR of Macedonia and the country continues to be complex. In particular, socioeconomic and social problems have become exacerbated, and as a result of this the energetic and effective action of all organized socialist forces is vital. This was assessed today, inter alia, at the joint session of the Macedonian Presidency and the Madeconian LC Central Committee Presidium, which was devoted to the political-security situation in the republic.

The basis for resolute action, it says in the communique, is created by the more favorable political climate, espcially after the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, for the rapid and consistent reform of the economic and political system and the democratic transformation of the LC, especially by constantly strengthening responsibility for the implementation of what has been agreed upon.

At the session, which was headed by Jezdimir Bogdanski and Jakov Lazaroski, there was particular stress on the vital need to stop the counterrevolutionary activity stemming from Albanian nationalism and separatism, and to energetically reject the nationalist paternalism of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and some nationalist circles in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo toward the Albanian population in the SR of Macedonia.

Slovene Body To Seek Pardons for Jansa, Others
LD1711003688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1913 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—After many proposals from the SR of Slovenia and a proposal from the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, the Slovene Presidency at yesterday's session concluded that it will launch an initiative with the SFRY Presidency to pardon Ivan Borstner, Janez Jansa, David Tasic, and Franci Zavrl, who received prison sentences from the Ljubljana Military Court, on the occasion of Republic Day on 29 November.

The Slovene Presidency, in launching this initiative, started above all, it was announced today, from the doubts that appeared among the Slovene public and the public at large over the manner in which the trial was conducted and over the verdicts. These suspicions, it said, were especially intensified by the fact that during the hearing the Slovene language was not used. The Slovene Presidency is also launching its initiative concerning Ivan Borstner due to his seriously deteriorated state of health.

Editorial Relations in Media Offices Worsening
LD1611233788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Titograd, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—The situation and relations in the editorial boards of POBJEDA and Titograd television have worsened to such an extent that the Socialist Alliance, as their founder, should immediately commit itself to resolving the problems which impede the normal activity of these two information institutions. This is the assessment of the Presidium of the Montenegro SAWP Republican Conference.

At its session today, the Presidium decided that POBJEDA and the television service needed cadre changes. It will discuss these issues when a study of the disrupted intrapersonal relations and weaknesses in implementing the established editorial policy of these media has been completed.